

# The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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Vol. XXXII, No. 4

May, 1954

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SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY PRESS

50 cents a copy

Saint Louis 3, Mo.

\$2.00 a year

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# The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

*A Service Quarterly for Teachers and Students of History*

Vol. XXXII

MAY, 1954

No. 4

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Published quarterly in November, January, March and May, by the Department of History, Saint Louis University, Saint Louis 3, Missouri. Entered as second-class matter January 7, 1932, at the Post Office of Saint Louis, Missouri, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Address all communications to THE HISTORICAL BULLETIN, 221 North Grand Blvd., Saint Louis 3, Missouri.

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# RENAISSANCE EDUCATIONAL THEORY: REVOLUTION OR EVOLUTION? PART I

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Much light, as well as heat, has been generated during recent decades in discussion of "the Question of the Renaissance." It exceeds the scope of the present paper to attempt to solve a problem of such magnitude. At the same time, it cannot be denied that determination of the real historical position of Renaissance educational theory has some bearing on the general issue. For it was in reference to the field of learning as well as literature that the humanists themselves employed terms characterizing their era as one of "rebirth" or "revival."<sup>1</sup> Only later was the concept progressively expanded.<sup>2</sup>

A comparison of the educational theory of the Renaissance with that of the preceding Middle Ages suggests that in this field, at least, the period of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries was one of progressive evolution, rather than revolutionary rebirth. It is the principal object of the present paper to elucidate the conformity and differences between the pedagogical theory of the Renaissance and that of the Middle Ages in such a way as to show the essential continuity between the two periods. A cardinal point in the explanation of differences is the fact that whereas previous mediaeval speculation chiefly concerned clerical and professional education, that of the Renaissance was primarily geared to the training of lay leaders. The salient features of Renaissance educational speculation will first be examined in relation to existing conditions (Part I), after which the extent to which the former were already present in mediaeval theory and practice will be investigated (Part II).

## RENAISSANCE EDUCATIONAL THEORY

Treatises dealing with the general education<sup>3</sup> of the laity began to appear in the West, for the first time since the classical

<sup>1</sup> W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (N. Y., Houghton, 1948), pp. 1-28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20-252, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> The term "general education," as used in the present paper, refers to the content rather than the extension of education. It denotes the imparting of general knowledge, skills, and culture, as distinguished from professional or clerical education.

era, in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The composition of such treatises became quite common during the so-called "Era of the Renaissance." Contributing to this development were the growing prevalence of economic prosperity and the consequent increasing complexity of social institutions and life in general. It is significant that the "new education" was first advocated and first flourished in such areas as Northern Italy and the Low Countries, which were more commercial, industrial, and urbanized than others.

The leading educational theorists of the Renaissance were Petrus Paulus Vergerius, Lionardo Bruni, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Battista da Guarino, Mapheus Vegius, Desiderius Erasmus, and Juan Luis Vives, to whose number may be added Baldassare Castiglione. It is on the works of the foregoing that most of the generalizations relative to pedagogical speculation in the era made in the present paper are based. Some account is also taken of the views of Dante Alighieri and Francesco Petrarch.

Petrus Paulus Vergerius, who taught rhetoric and logic at Padua, stands at the fore in the Renaissance composition of treatises on education with his work *On the Manners of a Gentleman and on Liberal Studies* (c. 1400).<sup>5</sup> Scholarly, balanced, and drawing on classical authors such as Plato, Plutarch, and Cicero, this *opus* saw at least twenty editions before 1500, and was probably the most influential of all Renaissance educational treatises.

In 1405 or thereabouts, Lionardo Bruni d' Arezzo, a leading humanist, who was Papal Secretary and afterwards Chancellor of Florence, wrote a letter addressed to Lady Baptista Malatesta, in which he discussed the literary studies he considered appropriate for a lady of the upper class. Known under the title *On Studies and Literature* (or Learning),<sup>6</sup> this was the first humanistic tract on feminine education.

In the middle of the same century (c. 1450), Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, versatile humanistic scholar, author, politician, dip-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> Petrus Paulus Vergerius, *De ingenuis moribus . . .*, tr. in William H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators . . .* (Cambridge University, 1921), pp. 93-118. These works are hereinafter respectively cited Vergerius, *De Ingen. mor.*, and Woodward, *Vittorino*.

<sup>6</sup> Lionardo Bruni d' Arezzo, *De Studiis et literis*, tr. in Woodward, *Vittorino*, pp. 119-133; hereinafter Bruni, *De Stud. et lit.*



lomat, and churchman, who was successively secretary to several prelates and finally to Emperor Frederick III, and who subsequently became Cardinal and Pope (Pius II), wrote a treatise on education. Intended for the guidance of the young imperial ward, Ladislav, King of Bohemia, this is entitled *On the Education of Boys*.<sup>7</sup> Because of its authorship and the circumstances of its composition, as well as its content, this work was very influential.

Shortly thereafter (c. 1459), Battista da Verona, son of the illustrious teacher, Guarino da Verona, wrote a treatise *On the Method of Teaching and Study*,<sup>8</sup> which presents the principles and practices he and his father observed in their famous school at Verona.

Probably the most comprehensive of such treatises was that of Mapheus Vegius *On the Education of Children and [the Inculcation of] Good Habits*,<sup>9</sup> written about this time. Vegius, a humanist and poet, who later became Secretary to the Pope, had thoroughly studied classical and Patristic writers on the subject. His work was published several times in various cities of Europe.

Desiderius Erasmus, "the Prince of Northern Humanists," and probably the leading literary scholar of the sixteenth century, among his numerous works wrote three short ones having to do explicitly and directly with education. These are his tracts *On the Organization of Study* (1511), *On [Inculcating] Good Manners in Children* (1526), and *On Promptly Beginning the Liberal Education of Children* (1529).<sup>10</sup>

Juan Luis Vives, a brilliant Spaniard who studied at Paris and at Louvain, where he subsequently taught, was a contemporary of Erasmus. Vives was an all around scholar, interested in phil-

<sup>7</sup> Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II), *De Liberorum educatione*, tr. J. S. Nelson (Washington, Catholic U., 1940), and in Woodward, *Vittorino*, pp. 134-160; hereinafter Aeneas Sylvius, *De Lib. ed.*

<sup>8</sup> Battista Guarino, *De Ordine docendi et studendi*, tr. in Woodward, *Vittorino*, pp. 161-178; hereinafter Guarino, *De Ord. d. et s.*

<sup>9</sup> Mapheus Vegius, *De Educatione liberorum*, ed. J. A. Cremonensis (Basel, 1541); also ed. by Maria W. Fanning and Anne S. Sullivan in 2 vols. (Washington, Catholic U., 1933 and 1936); hereinafter Vegius, *De Ed. lib.*

<sup>10</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *De Ratione studii*, tr. William H. Woodward in his *Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (Cambridge, University, 1904), pp. 161-178, hereinafter Erasmus, *De Rat. stud.*; and *De Pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, *Ibid.*, pp. 179-222, hereinafter *De Puer. instit.*; and *De Civilitate morum puerilium*, in his *Opera omnia . . .*, I (Leiden, Van der Aa, 1703), 1033-1044, hereinafter *De Civ. mor. puer.*

osophy and science as well as in literature, and was one of the most original and constructive thinkers of his day. He wrote a broad, deep, and balanced study which he entitled "*On the Transmission of the [Various] Branches of Knowledge [or Disciplines]*" (c. 1531).<sup>11</sup>

Baldasare Castiglione, Italian nobleman, diplomat, and man of letters, who composed his famous work *The Courtier*<sup>12</sup> while at the cultured court of Urbino (1514), did not *ex professo* write on education. But since his popular and influential treatise on the qualities proper to gentlemen of the upper class, and also to ladies of the same social strata, both implied and reflected contemporary educational ideals and practices, it may fittingly be regarded as pertaining to our category. Any survey of Renaissance educational theory would seem also incomplete without some reference to Dante Alighieri, the transitional "Precursor" of the era,<sup>13</sup> and especially to Francesco Petrarch, the idealogical "Father of Italian Humanism."<sup>14</sup>

It is often difficult to "see the forest for the trees" in the long and rather monotonous lists of pedagogical counsels and precepts attributed by many writers to the educational theorists of the Renaissance. Yet analysis and reflection shows that the program of the latter may be summarized by three general points. In other words, their platform had three principal planks. The first was their enthusiastic humanism, the second their pedagogical ideal of the well rounded man (or "*uomo universale*"), and the third their Christianity.

Of these cardinal features of Renaissance educational theory, the most distinctive, universal, and essential was its enthusiastic "humanism," or stress on classical literature. For Renaissance humanists made the study of the classics the core of the curriculum in general education.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Juan Luis Vives, *De Tradendis disciplinis*, tr. Foster Watson in his *Vives On Education: a Translation . . .* (Cambridge, University, 1913), hereinafter Vives, *De Trad. disc.*

<sup>12</sup> Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, tr. Thomas Hoby (1561), republished (London, Nutt, 1900), hereinafter Castiglione, *The Courtier*.

<sup>13</sup> Especially to his epochal *Commedia*.

<sup>14</sup> Particularly to his *Letters*.

<sup>15</sup> While the term "humanism" has been made to suffer numerous interpretations, its essence is undoubtedly this emphasis on the appreciative study and imitation of the classics. That the humanists made classical literature



It has been customary to consider Renaissance theorists as revolutionary innovators in this regard. Yet it would probably be closer to the truth to characterize them as conservatives. For they wished to return to the old order of things as it existed, for example, in the twelfth century and in the Carolingian Renaissance, when grammar and literary studies held the spotlight in the liberal arts curriculum. Their humanistic stress was partly a protest against the growing popularity and vogue of the vernacular. It was also a demonstration against the growing monopolistic tendencies of Scholasticism. Their rally was, in effect, but a phase of the never ending "Battle of the Arts," the continuing struggle between scientific and literary studies for preference in the curriculum.

To some extent, too, humanism was a transference and application to philological and literary studies of methods which had already come to maintain in other branches. More intensive scholarship and more comprehensive treatment, together with direct study of the best available sources and a general expansionist tendency, had come to prevail in almost all subjects taught in the Universities, including theology and philosophy, the sciences, mathematics, medicine, and law. In some degree this resulted from the progressive application of the method of logic to more and more fields. It was now the turn of classical philology.

Most of Renaissance pedagogical theory concerning the general education of laymen can be explained in terms of the practical needs and circumstances of the day. As it had been in the West for many centuries, Latin was still a sort of universal "open sesame." It was both a key to learning and culture and a ladder to success and preferment. In practically all advanced schools, Latin was a prerequisite, and, once the elementary stage was passed, the medium of communication. It still held undisputed sway as the supreme literary language. If one entertained an ambition to enter a profession or to rise in the service of the state or the church, he must ordinarily learn Latin.

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the core of the curriculum in general education is lucidly apparent in the above cited works of Vergerius, Bruni, Aeneas Sylvius, Guarino, Vegius, Erasmus, and Vives. Castiglione, in his *Courtier*, i, pp. 84-85, includes the study of Greek and Latin and their literatures, which he terms "Humanitie" (English translation), but gives even more attention to the Tuscan Italian vernacular.

But mastery of Latin involved study, and in this study was included classical literature, as well as the rules of grammar and rhetoric. Nowhere was Latin still the familiar speech of fireside, market, and tavern. Its acquisition was, perforce, the fruit of extensive study. Skill in Latin necessitated assimilation and imitation of the classics, as the best available models of Latin style, the products of the pristine Springtime of that language, when it was "living" in the fullest sense of the term.

The classics also presented a ready solution for the perennial educational problem of entertaining while instructing. To Western European youths in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, Latin was not the pale ghost of a day long dead, but was, on the contrary, living, respected, wondrous, almost glamorous. It was the august tongue of a Roman Empire which, theoretically, had never died; it was the hallowed linguistic medium of the universal Church; it was the language of learning, of law, and of most available literature of value. The vernaculars themselves were either corruptions of this great language or were "fortified" by generous infusions of its noble blood. Vergil and Horace, Cicero and Caesar seemed as close and real to the European youth of that day as Robert Louis Stevenson and Mark Twain, Thomas Jefferson and Woodrow Wilson do to an American boy of our own.

The humanists further saw in the literature of classical antiquity a rich treasury of highly civilized culture. It was the finished product of long centuries of human evolution and progress in the Mediterranean basin, and, as such, presented a means of broadening contemporary culture.

Employment of accepted literary masterpieces as the core of the curriculum represented a tried and trusted educational stragem. It provided at once an introduction to a culture or "ethos," the fostering of linguistic facility, and the eliciting of socially beneficial emotions. Even so the Greeks had utilized their Homer, the Romans their Vergil, the Moslems their Koran.

The humanists made much of the utility of classical literature for the profitable employment of leisure. In this they echoed ancient authorities, such as Cicero.<sup>16</sup> They dwelt on the fact that reading the classics provided pleasing entertainment, a solace for

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<sup>16</sup> Cp. Marcus T. Cicero, *De oratore*, tr. E. W. Sutton, 2 vols. (London, Heinemann, 1942), I, i, 34, 42; II, iii, 37-41; and *Offices*, tr. (London, Dent, n.d.), i, 1. Cp. Quintilian, *Institutes of Oratory*, tr. J. S. Watson, 2 vols. (London, Bell, 1905-1907), I, i, chs. 3-4.



sorrow, an antidote for solitude, and provision against ennui, as well as stimulating mental contacts and salutary intellectual activity.<sup>17</sup> They also stressed the moral advantages to be derived from such readings.<sup>18</sup>

The humanists were particularly enthusiastic in regard to the classical historians; they may be ranked among the most eloquent "press-agents" Clio has ever rated.<sup>19</sup> They extolled the utility of history for the social and political guidance of mankind, and pointed out the fact that history is replete with moral lessons. The humanists would agree that "History is philosophy teaching by example."

Contemporary political idealism also figured in Renaissance humanism. Petrarch associated the cultivation of classical Latin with a restoration of the ancient political well-being of Italy.<sup>20</sup> At times, as with Dante,<sup>21</sup> and on occasion with Petrarch,<sup>22</sup> such dreams would envision a universal Christian commonwealth or Holy Roman Empire. Salutati associated humanism with democratic aspirations and civic patriotism.<sup>23</sup> Beyond the Alps, hu-

<sup>17</sup> Thus Vergerius, *De Ingen. mor.*, pp. 104-105; B. Guarino, *De Ord. doc. et s.*, pp. 176-177; Aeneas Sylvius, *De Lib. ed.*, p. 152; Erasmus, *De Puer. inst.*, p. 181; Vives, *De Trad. disc.*, p. 120.

<sup>18</sup> Cp Vergerius, *De Ingen. mor.*, p. 105; Bruni, *De Stud. et lit.*, pp. 127, 131, 133; Aeneas Sylvius, *De lib ed.*, p. 150; B. Guarino, *De Ord. d. et s.*, p. 177; Erasmus, *De Puer inst.*, p. 181.

<sup>19</sup> Cp. Vergerius, *De Ingen. mor.*, p. 106; Bruni, *De Stud. et lit.*, pp. 127-128; Aeneas Sylvius, *De Lib. ed.*, pp. 141, 151, 152; B. Guarino, *De Ord. d. et s.*, p. 169; Erasmus, *De Rat. stud.*, p. 168; and Vives, *De Trad. disc.*, pp. 38, 230-236, 237-249. Also Petrarch, on the moral value of history, in his *De Viris illustribus* . . . , ed. L. Razzolini, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1874), I, 6.

<sup>20</sup> Cp. Petrarch, *The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters, a Selection From His Correspondence*, ed. J. H. Robinson and H. W. Rolfe (N. Y., Putnam's, 1914), pp. 327-377. For a fine discussion of Petrarch's political views, see C. C. Bayley in *Speculum*, XXVII (1942), 323-341.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Dante Alighieri, *De Monarchia*, in his *Opere* . . . , ed. E. Moore and P. Toynbee (Oxford, University, 1924), pp. 339-376.

<sup>22</sup> Petrarch, as quoted and discussed in Robinson and Rolfe, *Op. supra cit.*, pp. 327-377, revered the ancient Roman Empire. His humanism was partly encouraged by the dream of restoring the political and cultural unity of Italy. He was not fussy about the means to be employed, and at one time supports the republican movement led by Cola di Rienzi, at another urges a restoration of imperial sway by Charles IV.

<sup>23</sup> Cp. Coluccio Salutati in his *De Tyranno* and in some of his *Letters*, as translated and discussed by Ephraim Emerton, *Humanism and Tyranny: Studies in the Italian Trecento* (Cambridge, Harvard, 1925), pp. 25-118, 287-377.

manists hoped that a more universal sway of Latin would deter extreme nationalism and facilitate international peace.<sup>24</sup>

There is another reason for the stress the humanists put on study and imitation of the classics, one so obvious as to be frequently overlooked. This is the refined literary taste of the humanists themselves. Incidentally, this is an attestation of the quality of previous mediaeval education. For taste involves education as well as an element of tradition. And the earliest humanists were undoubtedly progeny of the Middle Ages.<sup>25</sup>

Probably the determining reason why the study of classical Latin literature became the core of the curriculum during the Renaissance was that this represented the only practicable solution in view of the fact that the "new education was lay and general, rather than clerical and professional, as had previously been the case. Theoretically, of course, there might be various possible alternatives for the leading role, such as logic, philosophy, vernacular literature, Greek literature, or exclusively Christian literature, in addition to general Latin literature. But only the last was fully fitted for the part. Logic was, in and by itself, a tool, preparatory to other subjects,<sup>26</sup> and too dry for a continuous diet. Philosophy was regarded as an advanced study, was in fact involved with theology, and was generally "over the heads" of the youths in the "arts" courses. The vernacular literatures were still in their infancy. Their linguistic forms were myriad and neither stabilized nor standardized, their content as yet meagre, their reputation suspect. Although Greek and its literature were accorded an honored place in the curriculum,<sup>27</sup> Greek was definitely secondary and subsidiary to Latin.<sup>28</sup> One could not conceive of the former dislodging the latter from its

<sup>24</sup> Thus Vives, *De Trad. disc.*, pp. 91-92, and Erasmus, as analyzed in Woodward, *Studies*, pp. 113-114.

<sup>25</sup> Thus Petrarch, "the Father of Humanism," and Dante, its transitional "Precursor."

<sup>26</sup> The excellent training in reasoning and methodology provided by logic as introductory to philosophical, theological, scientific, and legal studies was a principal reason for the high position it enjoyed in the mediaeval universities.

<sup>27</sup> Cp. Aeneas Sylvius, *De Lib. ed.*, p. 149; B. Guarino, *De Ord. d. et s.*, pp. 166-169; Erasmus, *De Rat. stud.*, p. 164; Vives, *De Trad. disc.*, pp. 92-94, 143-149. Vergerius also frequently cites Greek authorities in his *De Ingen. mor., passim*; while Bruni urges the reading of Greek authors by ladies in his *De Stud. et lit.*, p. 125, but supposes that they will use translations.



traditional position as the cultural *lingua franca* of the West any more than one could imagine the poles reversing themselves. And while the more excellent and fundamental Christian writings, such as the Bible, Patristic treatises, the better early Christian poets, and even outstanding mediaeval writers were included in the concept of classics, tradition as well as fact prevented their being regarded as the sum of great Latin literature, while their constant ancient reference and predominantly religious content precluded their becoming an exclusive object of literary study, especially for seculars. Latin literature as a whole, with long established "legitimate" preeminence accorded the ancient classical, alone could fill the bill.

The second major feature of Renaissance educational theory was its ideal of the "*uomo universale*," and its consequent broad program, designed to produce a well rounded human being. This was exemplified in practice in courtly schools such as those of Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona.<sup>29</sup> It was discussed in courtly manuals such as *The Book of the Courtier* by Castiglione.<sup>30</sup> Yet it is not so clearly, comprehensively, or consistently enunciated in most formal educational treatises written in the period as one might be led to suppose.<sup>31</sup> The "*uomo universale*" so often portrayed as a Renaissance ideal is usually a composite of elements to be found in several treatises and various schools. Its position is often exaggerated, and it cannot be said to be as marked a characteristic of Renaissance pedagogical theory as the latter's literary humanism. Yet this feature still deserves consideration. For the theorists of this era listed with an explicit fulness not hitherto achieved a variety of elements they wished to have formally included in the training of the young.

A composite of extracts from various Renaissance educational treatises yields the following enumeration. The student is to be familiarized with several branches of learning,<sup>32</sup> is to be made

<sup>28</sup> On this point all the Renaissance theorists cited in this paper would be in substantial agreement.

<sup>29</sup> See Woodward, *Vittorino*, pp. 22-86; and *Studies*, pp. 26-47.

<sup>30</sup> *Ut supra cit.*

<sup>31</sup> Not to the extent, for example, that one might be led to suppose from reading Woodward's summary in his *Vittorino*, pp. 179-250, and numberless authors after him.

<sup>32</sup> Thus Vergerius, *De Ingen. mor.*, pp. 102-109; Aeneas Sylvius, *De Lib. ed.*, *passim*; B. Guarino, *De Ord. d. et s.*, pp. 163-172; Vegius, *De Ed. lib.*, *passim*; Erasmus, *De Rat. stud.*, pp. 162-168; cp. Erasmus, *Convivium Religiosum*

proficient in the arts of verbal expression,<sup>33</sup> and is to be introduced to music<sup>34</sup> and the fine arts.<sup>35</sup> His body is to be trained along with his mind, his health is to be safeguarded by sufficient recreation, and his constitution developed by physical education.<sup>36</sup> He is to be made proficient in sports<sup>37</sup> and is to become skilled in military exercises.<sup>38</sup> Desirable character traits are to be developed, and the social and moral virtues inculcated.<sup>39</sup>

The conception of such an ideal was not extraordinary. It corresponded to a natural human drive for the exercise and development of man's various faculties, as well as to each individual's aspiration for perfection and respect. It was, inciden-

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and Woodward concerning the educational program of Erasmus in W. H. Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus, ut supra cit.*, pp. 101-160 and 226-230; Vives, *De Trad. disc.*, pp. 90-271. Also Castiglione, *The Courtier*, pp. 27-100 (Book I); cp. pp. 211-289 (Book III: on ladies).

<sup>33</sup> Such skill in the arts of verbal communication is termed "eloquence" by the humanists, and is one of their most cherished educational objectives. Cp. Vergerius, *De Ingen. mor.*, pp. 106-107; Aeneas Sylvius, *De Lib. ed.*, pp. 143-144; Bruni, *De Stud. et lit.*, pp. 124-126, 128, 132; B. Guarino, *De Ord. d. et s.*, pp. 164, 166, 174; Erasmus, *De Rat. stud.*, pp. 163, 169-178, and *De Puer. Instit.*, pp. 199-200; Vives, *De Trad. disc.*, pp. 90-91, 107-115, 180-188, 189-200; Castiglione, *The Courtier*, pp. 62-79, 85.

<sup>34</sup> On music, cp. Vergerius, *De Ingen. mor.*, pp. 108 and 117; Aeneas Sylvius, *De Lib. ed.*, p. 155; Vegius, *De Ed. lib.*, p. 280; Erasmus, *De Puer. Instit.*, p. 212; Vives, *De Trad. disc.*, p. 205; and Castiglione, *The Courtier*, pp. 61, 88-91, 118-119.

<sup>35</sup> On painting and drawing, see Castiglione, *The Courtier*, pp. 91-96. But the other Renaissance authors used for this paper do not include these in their curriculum.

<sup>36</sup> Vergerius, *De Ingen. mor.*, pp. 112-118; Aeneas Sylvius, *De Lib. ed.*, pp. 136-138; Erasmus, *De Puer. Instit.*, p. 202; Vives, *De Trad. disc.*, pp. 121, 122, 176, 300; Castiglione, *The Courtier*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> See especially Vergerius, *De Ingen. mor.*, pp. 112-116; and Castiglione, *The Courtier*, pp. 48-55, 112-115; also Aeneas Sylvius, *De Lib. ed.*, p. 138. Erasmus and Vives, who were strongly opposed to war, do not include military training in their educational programs. Vives, in his *De Trad. disc.*, pp. 31, 33, and 243, goes out of his way to condemn war as wrongful and vicious.

<sup>39</sup> Cp., in particular, Vergerius, *De Ingen. mor.*, pp. 98-102, 104; Bruni, *De Stud. et lit.*, pp. 127, 131, 133; Aeneas Sylvius, *De Lib. ed.*, pp. 138, 151, 157-158; B. Guarino, *De Ord. d. et s.*, p. 177; Erasmus, *De Puer. Instit.*, p. 181, and *De Conscribendis Epistolis . . .*, tr. W. H. Woodward, in his *Desiderius Erasmus . . .*, *ut supra cit.*, p. 225; Vives, *De Trad. disc.*, pp. 62-65, 66-71, 233-234, 250-257; and Castiglione, *The Courtier*, pp. 221-223, 296-298, 304-310, 330; as well as all of these authors, *passim*.



tally, conformable to the strong aesthetic sense of the humanists, as well as to their profound respect for classical authority. Had not such humanist "prophets" as Cicero and Quintilian preached a doctrine of multifarious development?<sup>40</sup>

This broad educational program of the humanists was a natural consequence of the lay orientation of their pedagogical theory. Even partial realization of the ideal of the "*uomo universale*" would be beneficial to any layman who succeeded in attaining it. His chances for personal advancement in the world would be enhanced. Entry to the "best circles" would be facilitated; his personality would be more pleasing, balanced, and versatile; he would be better adapted to cope with the manifold vicissitudes of life. Lay society in general would be likewise benefited. Its overall tenor would be enriched, its intercourse enhanced, its outcome improved. And society would be assured of possessing well rounded, competent, confident, and confidence-inspiring leaders.

The final salient feature of Renaissance educational theory (and, we may add, practice) was its definite inclusion of Christian religion and morality. Particular reference is made to this feature not because it was in any way novel or extraordinary, but in order to correct a common misconception or suspicion. It has often been declared or insinuated that the humanists were religious skeptics, hostile or at least indifferent to Christianity. While this may have been true of some, it was certainly not the case with most of them, and the present writer knows of no educational theorist in the era of whom it may be affirmed.

Like the later Romantic movement, to which it bears strong affinity, Renaissance humanism had a definite religious strain. Its great pedagogical theorists were far more insistent and explicit even than those of antiquity had been on the subject of religious and moral training. And the study of classical literature which they advocated included the works of the Christian Fathers and the Sacred Scriptures.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Cp. M. T. Cicero, *De Oratore*, tr. J. S. Watson in his *Cicero on Orators and Oratory* (London, Bell, 1903), i, 6, 9, 16, 17, and ii, 1, as well as *passim*. Also M. F. Quintilianus, *Institutes of Oratory*, tr. J. S. Watson, 2 vols. (London, Bell, 1905-1907), I, i, Pref., 1, 7, 8, 9, 11, ii, 4, 5; II, xii, 2, 3, 4; and *passim*.

<sup>41</sup> Thus Bruni, *De Stud. et. lit.*, pp. 124-125; Aeneas Sylvius, *De Lib. ed.*, p. 142; Erasmus, *De Rat. stud.*, p. 167; Vives, *De Trad. disc.*, pp. 89, 154-155, Vegius, *De Ed lib.*, pp. 140, 252.

With regard to Italian humanists who wrote pedagogical treatises, a great authority on the subject has concluded: "All writers without exception dwell urgently on the duty of religious observance and respect for the doctrines and ordinances of the Church. . . . It cannot be too strongly affirmed that a close acquaintance with the actual work of Vittorino and Guarino and with the aims of Vergerius and Vegio reveals a thorough sincerity of religious conviction that permeates all their educational practice."<sup>42</sup> It was the aim of Vittorino de Feltre to coordinate the Christian spirit and life on the one hand with classical literature and learning on the other. This was the ideal which came to be his guiding spirit at Padua and Venice, and which encouraged him to develop his famous school, organized on these principles, at Mantua.<sup>43</sup> A kindred spirit animated Guarino da Verona.<sup>44</sup> Like Vittorino, Guarino prescribed daily attendance at worship.<sup>45</sup> For the latter, as for the former, faith and morals were prime pedagogical considerations.<sup>46</sup> Guarino also lectured on the works of Basil, Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine. He was interested in biblical training. His religious faith and devotion are attested both by his life and letters, and by the repute in which he was held by his students.<sup>47</sup> Vergerius, in his great treatise which became the prototype and standard of humanist pedagogical theory, observes, for example: "Above all, respect for Divine ordinances is of the deepest importance. It should be inculcated from the earliest years. . . . Profane language is to be held an abominable sin. Disrespect towards the ceremonies of the Church or vain swearing must be sternly repressed."<sup>48</sup>

The attitude of Vittorino, Guarino, and Vergerius is common to other Italian humanists. Aeneas Sylvius, later Pius II, who has sometimes been accused of worldliness, but who also had a strong religious strain, reminds the young King of Hungary, to whom his treatise on education is addressed, that religion should be the primary concern of his life. To this end, the youthful

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<sup>42</sup> William H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators* (Cambridge University, 1921), p. 242.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18-22, 27, 241, 242.

<sup>44</sup> Woodward, *Studies*, pp. 36, 37, 46-47; and Woodward, *Vittorino*, pp. 241-242.

<sup>45</sup> Woodward, *Vittorino*, pp. 241-242.

<sup>46</sup> Woodward, *Studies*, p. 37.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>48</sup> Vergerius, *De Ingen. mor.*, pp. 100-101.



monarch is to endeavor to see God even in reading classical literature. And he is not only to become thoroughly familiar with the chief doctrines and principal prayers of the Christian Church, but he is also in time to take up reading the Fathers.<sup>49</sup> Lionardo Bruni, even in a short, restricted treatise on feminine study of literature, does not neglect to inculcate the value of religious readings. And he goes out of his way to conclude with the observation that "No studies have more urgent claim than those which treat of Religion and of our duties in the world."<sup>50</sup> Even Baldassare Castiglione, whose treatise is concerned with the qualifications of those who pass most of their lives at court and is therefore the least academic and the most worldly of them all, evidences therein his respect for religion and morality. For, in his *Courtier*, he not only repeatedly reiterates the necessity of morality,<sup>51</sup> but also insists on a certain amount of piety.<sup>52</sup> And he concludes his popular work on a distinctly religious level, Christian as well as Neo-Platonic, stressing the sublimation of earthly affection to divine love, and alleging the examples of Saints Mary Magdalene, Paul, and Francis of Assisi.<sup>53</sup>

The Trans-Alpine humanists were, if anything, even more emphatic and precise than their Italian counterparts concerning the importance and necessity of moral and religious training. Religion is listed by Desiderius Erasmus as the primary and principal educational objective. He states succinctly and clearly that "the first and most important part is that the youthful mind may absorb the seeds of piety."<sup>54</sup> A distinguished scholar, who made an intensive study of the Erasmian educational aims,<sup>55</sup> concluded that "... to Erasmus, as to Vittorino, training in moral duty and religious obedience were the highest ends of all right education."<sup>56</sup> Ludovicus Vives, one of the most brilliant and versatile of all the humanists, was far from being the least insistent on religious training. His whole *De Tradendis discip-*

<sup>49</sup> Aeneas Sylvius, *De Lib. ed.*, pp. 141-142.

<sup>50</sup> Bruni, *De Stud. et. lit.*, p. 133.

<sup>51</sup> Castiglione, *Courtier*, *passim*.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 314.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 358-364.

<sup>54</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *De Civilitate morum puerilium* . . . in *Opera omnia, ut supra cit.*, I, 1033, B. C.

<sup>55</sup> William H. Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (Cambridge, University, 1904).

<sup>56</sup> Woodward, *Studies*, p. 125.

*linis* is, in fact, pervaded with a fine religious perception. According to Vives, all studies, properly pursued, lead us to our final end and highest good.<sup>57</sup> He quotes the Psalmist:

The heavens declare the glory of God,  
And the firmament displays His handiwork.<sup>58</sup>

And cites St. Paul: "I have learnt the hidden things of God through what is seen." In the estimation of Vives, "The more exactly we learn all things, the more they disclose to us the nature of the Deity or Supreme Cause through His works or effects." Of the necessity of this knowledge, he says, "Man, like every other being, is to be judged by his end. . . . But what is this save God Himself?"<sup>59</sup> Like his fellow humanistic prince, Erasmus, Vives declares, "First of all, the fundamental truths of . . . religion must be taught to the young."<sup>60</sup> And in terms suggestive of the conclusion of Solomon, he observes, "All the arts and all learning are but as the pointless play of children if religion be lacking."<sup>61</sup>

Humanist concern for religion and morality was supported in considerable measure by classical authority. For the ancients had revered virtue and piety, and their most outstanding educational theorists had made such training paramount in the preparation of the philosopher, the citizen, the orator.<sup>62</sup> Quintilian had gone so far as to include goodness in his definition of an ora-

<sup>57</sup> Vives, *De Trad. disc.*, pp. 17-19, 172-173, and *passim*.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>62</sup> Thus Plato, *Laws*, ed. and tr. R. G. Bury, 2 vols. (London, Heinemann, 1926), I, i, §643, ii, §659, and *passim*; Plato, *Republic*, ed. and tr. P. Shorey, 2 vols. (London, Heinemann, 1930), I, i, §§352-354, ii, §§366-367, iv, §§428-444; II, ix, §§581-592; and *passim*; Aristotle, *Politica*, tr. B. Jowett, in *Works* . . . , ed. W. D. Ross, X (Oxford, Clarendon, 1921), vii, 13, and *passim*; Aristotle, *Ethica Nichomachea*, in *Works*, ed. W. D. Ross, IX (Oxford, Clarendon, 1925), i, 13, ii, 1, 3, 13, vii, 13, x, 1, 9, and *passim*; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, ed. and tr. W. Miller, 2 vols. (London, Heinemann, 1914), I, i, 1-2, 3, II, vii, 1, and *passim*; Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Oratore*, ed. and tr. E. Sutton and H. Rackham, 2 vols. (London, Heinemann, 1942), I, i, 33, 64-69, II, iii, 137. Especially cp. Cicero's *De Republica*, *De Legibus*, *De Finibus bonorum et malorum*, *Tusculan Disputations*, and *De Officiis*, all both edited and translated in the Loeb Classical Library (London, Heinemann). Also Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, ed. and tr. H. E. Butler, 4 vols. (London, Heinemann 1936), I, Preface and i.



tor. For he defined the latter as "a good man, skilled in speech."<sup>63</sup> With the ancients, as with most religious people today, religion and morality were interconnected. Ancient drama, poetry, music, and philosophy were also pervaded with a religious and moral spirit and purpose.<sup>64</sup>

The salient features of Renaissance educational theory: its stress on the study of classical literature, its ideal of the "*uomo universale*," and its Christian spirit, have been discussed. These have been explained in the light of its aim, the general education of lay leaders, as well as in view of prevailing conditions. It remains to determine exactly what relation Renaissance pedagogical speculation bore to that of the preceding Middle Ages. Whether it was revolutionary, or a natural evolution out of the mediaeval will be examined in Part II.

<sup>63</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, ut supra cit., IV, iv, 1, citing Cato as the source of his definition.

<sup>64</sup> Thus Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, the Stoics, the Academicians, the Neo-Platonists, and Cicero. On this subject one may consult Werner Jaeger, *Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1947); Roy K. Hack, *God in Greek Philosophy . . . to Socrates* (Princeton, University, 1931); G. M. Grube, *Plato's Thought* (London, Methuen, 1935); W. T. Stace, *A Critical History of Greek Philosophy* (London, Macmillan, 1941); Cyril Bailey, *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome* (Berkeley, University of California, 1932); and W. W. Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, Macmillan, 1933). Also cp. Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, ut supra cit., II, viii, 7. Concerning Cicero on the subject. cp. Hannis Taylor, *Cicero . . .* (Chicago, McClurg, 1918), Chapters 1, 2, 12, and 13.

# WRITINGS IN UNITED STATES CHURCH HISTORY, 1953

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This bibliography consists of a selection of articles dealing with the history of the Church in continental United States, and is limited to the publications appearing in 1953, or those which have come to attention during the past year. As all such efforts, it is necessarily incomplete—information concerning articles of value not listed will be appreciated by the compiler.

The teacher of history, from elementary school through graduate work, will find items of value in a bibliography of this type. A new light on some phase of the story of the Church will help enliven a class, and will further the research toward the solution of many yet untold incidents in the story of Catholicism in America.

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Donohue, William H. "Mary of Agreda and the Southwest United States," *Americas*, v. 9 (Jan., 1953), 291-314. A documented study of the story of the conversion of the Jumano Indians and other Southwest tribes stemming from the miraculous appearances of the Spanish nun.

Falls, Thomas B. "Development of the Diocese and Province of Philadelphia," *American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia Records*, v. 64 (Mar., 1953), 50-56. Maps, tables, statistics. Historical sketch with very informative illustrative material.

- Hoffman, M. M. "The Roman Catholic Church in Iowa," *Palimpsest*, v. 24 (Aug., 1953), 337-400. illus., maps, ports. This entire issue of the *Palimpsest* is devoted to the history of the Catholic Church in Iowa.
- Hanley, Thomas O. "Catholic Political Thought in Colonial Maryland Government," *Historical Bulletin*, v. 32 (Nov., 1953, 27-34. A well written and documented study of Maryland colonial government up to the Toleration Act of 1649 with emphasis on the work of the Assembly of 1640.
- Holand, Hjalmar Rued. "A Review of the Kensington Stone Research," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, v. 36 (Summer, 1953), 235-240, 273-276. illus. A documented answer to the critics by the early champion of the genuinity of the stone.
- Hurley, Neil P. "The Catholic Evidence Guild of New York City," *Woodstock Letters*, v. 82 (Nov., 1953), 301-316. A history of twenty-five years of the organization of Catholic Action begun in 1918.
- Hyde, B. B., and M. V. Brewington. "New Light on the Ark and Dove," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, v. 48 (Sept., 1953), 185-190. illus. Information on the description of the ships gathered from carvings.
- Hyland, F. E. "Church in Georgia," *Extension*, v. 48 (Oct. 1953), 24-25.
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- Lacy, John J. "The New Ecclesiastical Province of Kansas," *Benedictine Review*, (Jan., 1953), 9-11. A very brief history of the development of the Church in the state of Kansas to the establishment of the Archdiocese of Kansas City, Kansas.
- Laurence, Sister M. "A Trip to Quapaw in 1903," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 31 (Summer, 1953), 142-167. The story of a visit of Carmelite nuns to St. Mary's on the Quapaw in 1903, annotated by Velma Nieberding.
- Lensing, Michael. "New Subiaco Abbey, 1878-1953," *Social Justice Review*, v. 46 (Sept.-Oct., 1953), 170-172, 206-208. A summary history of the seventy-five years of the Benedictine Abbey.
- Lewis, Clifford M., and Albert J. Loomis. *The Spanish Jesuit Missions in Virginia, 1570-1572*. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. pp. 312. illus. maps. \$7.50. The story of the

unsuccessful attempt to found a mission in the Chesapeake Bay area. The documents are given in the original and in translation.

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Lucey, William. "The Position of Catholics in Vermont: 1853," *American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia Records*, v. 64 (Dec., 1953), 213-235. Good description of the difficulties with Nativism, documented from newspapers of the time.

McDonald, Sister Grace. "The Benedictine Sisters and the St. Cloud Hospital," *Minnesota History*, v. 33 (Autumn, 1953), 291-297. The story of the efforts of the city of St. Cloud to start a hospital and the opening of St. Benedict's Hospital in 1886 with subsequent building culminating in the erection of St. Cloud Hospital in 1928.

*Our Heritage. One Hundred Years of Faith.* no place. no pub. 1953. pp. 44. illus. ports. statistics, maps. The Centennial booklet of the Diocese of Springfield in Illinois, 1853-1953.

Paulmann, Frederick H. "Catholic Beginnings in the Town of New Rochelle," *United States Historical Society Records and Studies*, v. 51 (1953), 71-93.

Reardon, James Michael. *Catholic Church in the Diocese of St. Paul from Earliest Origin to Centennial Achievement.* St. Paul. North Central Publishing Co. 1952. pp. 726. illus. pl. \$4.50.

Schanzer, George O. "A Russian Visit to the Spanish Franciscans in California, 1836," *Americas*, v. 9 (Apr., 1950), 453-458. Description of the visit of the Orthodox priest John Veniaminov.

Smith, John S. *St. Anthony's, 1837-1953.* Davenport. St. Anthony's Rectory. 1953. pp. 99. The story of the first Church in Davenport, Iowa.

Talbot, Francis X. "The Huron Sodality of 1653," *Woodstock Letters*, v. 82 (Nov., 1953), 335-360. A well written and thoroughly documented story of the first Sodality in what is now continental Canada and the United States.



Waggett, George M. "The Oblates of Mary Immaculate in the Pacific Northwest, 1847-1878," *American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia Records*, (June, Sept., Dec., 1953), 72-93, 166-182, 199-212. Good article with documentation and a bibliography.

Wilson, Frederick R. "A History of Catholicism in Vermont," *Vermont Quarterly*, v. (July, 1953).

Woods, Will. "Cardinalatial See of the West," *Ave Maria*, v. 77 (Feb. 7, 1953), 167-171. A description of the Diocese of Los Angeles.

### GENERAL

Barry, Coleman J. *Catholic Church and German Americans*. Milwaukee. Bruce, 1953. pp. 348. pl. \$6.00. An excellent study of this problem, might be criticized as being too favorable toward the Germans in some of the controversies.

Barry, Coleman J. "The German Triangle of the West," *American Benedictine Review*, v 3 (Autumn, 1953), 210-239. An interesting account of the German activity in the triangle formed by Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Cincinnati.

Bernard, Raymond. "American Apostolate; a Review with Marginal Notes and Questions on Immaturity," *Social Order*, v. 3 (Mar., 1953), 318-332. An extensive and critical review of Ward's *American Apostolate* (1952), that adds a great deal of information to the subject.

Billington, Ray A. *Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860*. New York. Rinehart. 1952. pp. 514. pl. \$6.50. A reprint of this classic on bigotry.

Browne, Henry J. "An American Memorial of the Definition of the Immaculate Conception," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, v. 128 (Apr., 1953), 255-261. Archbishop Hughes places the first parish in the United States under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception in 1855.

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[Catholic Medical Mission Board]. "Twenty-five Years of Medical Missions," *America*, v. 88 (Mar. 14, 1953), 640. Brief story of the work of the Medical Missions.

[Catholic Mind]. *The Catholic Mind Through Fifty Years, 1903-1953*. New York. America. 1953. pp. xii, 681. \$5.00. Selection from this publication during the past fifty years—selected and edited by Father Benjamin Masse.

Clemens, A. H. *The Cana Movement in the United States*. Washington. Catholic University of America. 1953. pp. 54. \$.75. A survey of the movement during the past ten years.

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Foley, Albert S. "U. S. Colored Priests: Hundred Years Survey," *America*, v. 89 (June 13, 1953), 295-297. Covers the topic from Bishop Healy to Bishop Bowers.

Hyde, Douglas. "British Impressions of U. S. Catholics," *America*, v. 90 (Dec. 26, 1953), 337-338. A sympathetic treatment—a welcome relief after the bitterness of some other travellers.

Janelle, P. "Catholic Organization in the United States," *Tablet*, v. 199 (June 3, 1952), 472-473.

Karol, Joseph. "What happened to the Potawatomi," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, v. 129 (Dec., 1953), 361-367. An undocumented account of the wandering migrations of this Indian tribe and the missionary efforts among them.

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- Lally, F. J. "State of the Catholic Press," *Commonweal*, v. 57 (Feb. 6, 1953), 443-445. An interesting evaluative article that stirred up considerable controversy.
- Lewis, Theophilus. "Catholic Laymen's Union: Silver Anniversary," *Interracial Review*, v. 26 (Dec., 1953), 204-206. A good general survey of the history of this organization.
- McAvoy, Thomas T. "The American Catholic Minority in the Later Nineteenth Century," *Review of Politics*, v. 15 (July, 1953), 275-302. A portion of the author's study of the Americanist controversy 1895-1900 now in preparation.
- Maynard, Theodore. *The Spirit of American Catholicism*. New York. Appleton. 1953. pp. 309. \$3.50. A series of essays on the problems and work of the Catholic Church in America. Offers little of value and is suspiciously close to hack writing.
- Morrison, John L. "American Catholics and the Crusade Against Evolution," *American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia Records*, v. 64 (June, 1953), 59-71. A well written and documented study of the activity of Catholics during the Evolution controversy of the 1920s.
- Murray, R. "What I Have Seen in America," *Columbia*, v. 32 (Sept. 1952), 6.
- Nolan, Hugh J. "Fields in American Catholic History for Polish Americans," *Polish American Studies*, v. 7 (July, 1953).
- Official Catholic Directory for the Year of Our Lord 1953*. New York. Kenedy. 1953. illus. \$12.00.
- Ong, W. J. "American Catholicism and America," *Thought*, v. 27 (Winter, 1952), 521-541.
- Sheerin, John B. "The Development of the Catholic Magazine in the History of American Journalism," *United States Catholic Historical Society Records and Studies*, v. 51 (1953), 5-13.
- Vollmar, E. R. "Writings in United States Church History," *Historical Bulletin*, v. 31 (May, 1953), 198-205.
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## THE TWILIGHT OF SOCIALISM — A REVIEW

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This is not so much the history of the Revolutionary Socialists in Austria, as the story of a revolutionary socialist leader who decided to write his memoirs, based on experiences, impressions and undocumented remembrances of personal contacts. These are written in subjective sincerity and show the manifestly unselfish conceit of a blind prophet, unshaken in the conviction that all the others, including his own party leaders and authorities, are either wicked, if they are ideological opponents, or wrong, weak and deficient, if they are well-meaning friends.

The author uses throughout his narrative his former alias, Gustav Richter. A deeply pessimistic outlook led him earlier (1941) to arrive at the conclusion "that nothing but a Socialist revolution could deliver Europe from the dangers of fascism and war" (53). But he did not dare to hope that this chance would materialize; there would be after the war no "revolutionary wave" in Europe. The allied victory would block it (529). Therefore he advocated for Austrian and German Socialists the "revolutionary defeatism that Lenin in World War I had preached for all the belligerents" (504). Even before outbreak of the war the author (with full concurrence of Dr. Otto Bauer and Dr. Frederick Adler) "openly repudiated the idea of restoring an independent Austria after Hitler's fall. . . . Bauer himself penned the Austrian Socialists' first political manifesto after the Anschluss . . . which advocated an all-German socialist revolution . . . the greater the prospect of a German socialist revolution, the more important the opposition to the reestablishment of Austrian independence (495)".

Soviet dictatorship was in his eyes just as bad as capitalist imperialism; the restoration policy of the Western Powers just as fateful for Europe as Soviet expansionism. The surviving socialist parties would, after victory, entirely depend on USA. This meant they would remain alive "basically for the purpose of helping to rebuild and defend the old order (538). In its propaganda the socialist movement would continue to embody

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*In the Twilight of Socialism*, by Joseph Buttinger. New York. Frederick A. Praeger. 1953. pp. 577. \$6.00.

\* Dr. Schuschnigg, as former Chancellor of Austria and present Professor of Government at Saint Louis University is admirably qualified to evaluate this study of Austrian government.

the masses' anticapitalist yearnings, but as a political force it would cease to be anything but a pillar of the old capitalist world (538)." In other words the chance of revolution after World War II would be as badly missed and spoiled by a compromise as had happened once before in 1918. Soon it became clear to the author that "not even France produced the hoped-for revolution. The policies of Leon Blum and Clement Atlee were wrong"; in their defensive fight against Stalinism, they merely followed the lead of Churchill and Truman (540). The only nation which should get a clean bill of health from the author (because it seemingly lived up to his revolutionary socialist standards), could have been Yugoslavia. But neither Yugoslavia nor Josip Brod-Tito are touched upon in this treatise on revolution.

After a brief stay in his native Austria in 1947, the author came to realize that "in spite of their enlarged offices and their old publications", issued by the same old men using their old proud language, Socialism had become a mere facade. The true socialist spirit was gone; "that spirit was the negation of almost everything that the newly established party stood for . . . Socialism was no longer advanced by the socialist party . . . in Austria, too, a true socialist movement had ceased to exist (544)".

Therefore he drew the consequences, bade farewell to the party, and decided to make USA his permanent homeland. This seems to indicate that not even Pietro Nenni's PSI (Partito Socialista Italiano) or the socialist versions of Scandinavian countries meet his required standards.

The author had started his political career as a district secretary of the Austrian Social Democrats in a small town of Carinthia. After the party was outlawed (Febr. 1934) and the "collapse of the Austrian workers' leaderless armed resistance," he was arrested and sentenced to three months in jail. Whereupon he joined the socialist underground and soon became a member of its Central-Committee in Vienna. Here, he turned decidedly against the team of old party leaders whose inactivity and inefficiency he made responsible for failure and defeat in the fight against "fascist attack". He even dared to oppose the otherwise uncontested authority of Dr. Otto Bauer in his exile-headquarters at Brno (Czecho-Slovakia). By the beginning of 1935 he became the chairman of the Austrian illegal socialist Central-Committee and eventually with Otto Bauer's blessing substituted the flag of "Revolutionary Socialism" for the former, which had, in the

eyes of the activists, through its failure, compromised the Social-democratic label.

Thus he made his way through the hushed and gruesome hide-and-seek game of an avowedly subversive underground-movement which by the way was not quite so unknown to the police as he seems to assume—not the idealist of the dreamer type, but rather an idealistic activist, intelligent, self-trained and fanatic believer in his revolutionary goal. Nothing else existed for him; neither history nor geography, nor was he in any way concerned with the existent international over-all situation. And yet it happened that he was to find some comfort and guidance from a Russian thought and an American woman.

In his deep-rooted discontent with the old socialist party leaders he joined a small, obviously Russian-inspired, though formally independent, group of young activists who called themselves the Spark, seemingly in significant reiteration of the famous conspirative organ (*Spark-Iskra*), founded and edited by Lenin, Plekhanov et al. in 1900, before the split with the Mensheviks in 1904. The Spark—from which was to come Conflagration! The adept newcomer was soon to become treasurer of this group. In this capacity he made contact with a wealthy American student, enrolled at the medical school in Vienna who provided the funds and put her extended facilities, a cottage and two down-town flats in Vienna, at the disposition of "Spark" and later of the Revolutionary Socialists. The young lady had herself been a former member of the U.S. socialist war resisters and was in strong sympathy with the Austrian socialist movement. Her American passport was for the author—who became later her husband—of distinct value. After Hitler's annexation of Austria both went into exile, at first to France, and then, following the common trend, to the U.S.A.

The intentional purity of these memoirs should not be contested. Nor should one allow oneself to detract the person of a political adversary. Buttinger—alias G. Richter—did not believe in Russian sponsored Communism and described why he opposed the communist drive for proletarian unity (263). But just what would be the difference between the communist and the revolutionary socialist version of the dictatorship of the proletariat—except that the former is Russian controlled and the latter independent—remains as obscure as it had been before. Vague generalities do not answer this fundamental question.



As a matter of fact, nobody ever had and could have answered this question. This was the real twilight of Socialism in Central-eastern Europe, which caused ambiguities and paralyzed democratic institutions. It provoked organized "Anti-Marxism," and finally, owing to the existent majority-situation, the decline and downfall of socialist parties, not only in Austria, but with the exception of Czecho-Slovakia, in all central-eastern-European countries between the wars. Each one of these nations had sooner or later to face the deadly dilemma and found herself at the crossroads between Hitlerism and Stalinism. Neither Revolutionary Socialism nor any other "Ism" could possibly be of any help. Only power could in the long run decide what in reality had been a power struggle, disguised as an ideologic crusade. That is why at the end of the struggle U.S.A. stood and brought about the decision. Without her, no history of the Austrian revolutionary socialists could have been written.

The author would have done better to avoid such platitudes like the interpretation of an overall political struggle as the fight of socialist forces against a conspiracy between the power greedy elements of reaction who blended "the ruling vices of a feudal past with the urges of a fascist future in shortlived political hybrids". It is a mistake to explain all troublesome political situations, explosions, and shortcomings in terms of a conspiracy. Though this fiction might have come handy to the memoir-writer who takes it for granted that the Catholic Church was among the foremost conspirators against socialist labor. A particularly sinister role is attributed in his narrative to Father Bichlmaier, "Jesuit provincial and confidential political agent of the Vatican in Austria". Fr. Bichlmaier, S.J., a born Bavarian, happened to be in charge of lay-retreats and worked during the critical years as moderator for Catholic graduates in Vienna; he was as far from politics as anyone could be. Here our author definitely barked up the wrong tree.

In his concluding chapter he summarizes disappointment and hope of the New Men: ". . . to one truth they cling; that man must not remain forever under the blind sway of social conditions, that he can rise up successfully against an order that denies his humanity."

This is common ground.

What our generation needs is not so much a history of Socialism, but rather its *redefinition*.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### MEDIEVAL

*The Grey Friars in Cambridge*, by J. R. H. Moorman. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1952. pp. viii, 277. \$7.00.

Sixty years have gone by since the late A. G. Little wrote his most useful work on *The Grey Friars in Oxford*. Cambridge has had to wait a long while for its companion volume; but Dr. Moorman's work is worth waiting for. As compared with Oxford, the Cambridge *studium* of the Friars Minor lacks the distinction of great names. This book, with its long list of Cambridge Franciscans (pp. 146-226), confirms the general impression that it was not until the end of the fourteenth century (when Oxford's schools became for a time suspect of Wycliffite heresy) that the Franciscans of Cambridge became serious rivals of the Oxford *studium*. None the less, their history goes back almost to the year in which two English friars, Richard of Ingworth and Richard of Devon, made their first modest foundation at Oxford in 1224. The first friars came to Cambridge in 1225. For the next forty years they were content to live in a house, formerly owned by Benjamin the Jew, half of which was at one time used at first as a common prison. Even St. Francis could hardly have asked more of his disciples as proof of their devotion to poverty and humility.

This humble friary was not at first a house of studies; it was not until about the year 1230 that this small group of Friars Minor began to organize classes in theology for their own brethren. From these humble beginnings there grew in time, not merely a new local *studium* of the English Franciscan Order, but a full faculty of theology in the University of Cambridge. For Dr. Moorman, following here the opinion of Dr. Little, seems correct in his view that there was no more than a faculty of arts at Cambridge when the friars came there in 1225. Indeed it was not until the year 1318, when Pope John XXII granted important privileges to the *studium generale* of Cambridge, that Cambridge can be considered in the full sense of the word a rival University to the earlier *studium generale* of Oxford.

Dr. Moorman, as a Cambridge scholar, is naturally concerned with such local details as the site and buildings of the friary, its relations with the town and University, its church and library, and so forth. Of the intellectual life to be found in this *studium* he has less to say. In the thirteenth century many of the masters who taught in the Franciscan school at Cambridge had come there from Oxford, but in the fourteenth century Cambridge begins to take a more important place in the life of the Order as a whole.

During the fifteenth century Cambridge was probably more intellectually alive than Oxford, and it was at Cambridge that Erasmus found his most sympathetic helpers and admirers. At Cambridge also the new teachings of Luther were accepted more quickly than at the older and more conservative University, and Dr. Moorman makes it plain that on the eve of the suppression (1538), the small Franciscan community of some 18 friars was sharply divided on the doctrinal controversies of the day. Suppression was inevitable; and it seems that most of the former friars of Cambridge whose names can be traced in the records of the next twenty or thirty years ended

their days as rectors of this or that parish in England. One former friar, Thomas Baker, who had been for many years rector of St. Bartholomew in London, died as an old man in 1572 and asked in his will that he might be buried at Cambridge "in the Gray ffreres Cloyster in the parishe of Christ Church over against the Scholehouse dore there." As Dr. Moorman truly comments, his heart was still with the friars who had once been his fellow-religious in happier days. Others sought refuge on the Continent. Dr. Moorman seems to me here to have missed a curious item of Cambridge history.

Ten manuscripts from the former Franciscan convent of Cambridge are today in the Vatican Library, where they are classed among the Ottoboni MSS. Dr. Moorman suggests that the friars had sold these books shortly before the dissolution to pay off their debts in difficult times. But he has overlooked the fact that eight more manuscripts from the Dominican convent at Cambridge are also among the Ottoboni MSS. in the Vatican Library. Most of them can be traced back to St. Robert Bellarmine's uncle, Cardinal Marcello Cervini, who was for a few weeks Pope Marcellus II. When Marcellus II died in 1555, it was found that he had bequeathed his books to Cardinal Sirleto, who died in 1575; from him they came in the end to the Vatican Library. But the fact that books from two Cambridge friaries should have found their way to Rome so soon after the suppression of 1538 makes it highly probable that a few at least of the Cambridge friars, both Franciscan and Dominican, had made good their escape to Italy, and had brought some of their books with them for safety or as a means of winning support in Rome.

Dr. Moorman has written a most readable and fair-minded account of a forgotten chapter in English Catholic history, and it is good to know that the Friars Minor are once more in Cambridge.

Aubrey Gwynn, National University of Ireland.

*Patrology, II*, by John Quasten. Westminster, Md. Newman Press. 1953. pp. xi, 450. \$5.50.

This second volume of Father Quasten's *Patrology* covers the Christian writers from the beginning of the third century up to the Council of Nicea. The first chapter (120 pages) deals with the Alexandrians from Pantaenus to Hesychius; the second (31 pages) with the writers of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine; the third (89 pages) with the literature of Rome; the fourth (67 pages) with the African authors. The fifth chapter has only four pages devoted to Victorinus of Pettau and Reticus of Autun.

The high standard of thoroughness and scholarliness manifested in the first volume is maintained throughout this second one. Father Quasten speaks with authority. He has studied the ecclesiastical writers in the original and has kept up to date on the abundant studies of them cited in his extensive bibliographies. These bibliographies interrupt the reader on almost every page and call his attention to various codices containing the original writing, to diverse editions of the text, to its translations, to general and specific studies of each document. Moreover, the reader is referred to translations and studies in diverse languages, especially in German, English, French, Dutch, Italian and Spanish.



Again, it would be difficult to quarrel with Father Quasten's sense of proportion in treating of the different writers. The seven outstanding writers occupy three-fourths of the 413 pages of text. Tertullian receives 94 pages; Origen, 64; Hippolytus of Rome, 43; St. Cyprian, 43; Clement of Alexandria, 31; Novatian, 21; Lactantius, 18.

As in his first volume, Father Quasten is interested primarily in the doctrinal teachings of his subjects. He does not fail to make observations on their lives and times, but these are secondary and merely serve as a setting for his main purpose. Furthermore, he does not consider the teachings of any one Father as isolated, but makes comparisons which reveal how a certain dogma has undergone development or how the teaching of one Father varies or co-incides with that of another.

The value of this book for classroom use is enhanced by the many excerpts translated from the originals. Their perusal may readily enkindle in the student a desire to read the works in their entirety.

The thoroughness of the book is also attested by the five indexes comprising its last 35 pages. These indexes include all references to either Old or New Testaments, a list of the ancient authors and their writings, a tabulation of all the modern authors referred to in the bibliographies or elsewhere, a page of Greek words cited in the text, and finally a general index.

Clarence McAuliffe, Saint Mary's College, Kansas.

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*An Introduction to the Administrative History of Medieval England*, by S. B. Chrimes. New York. Macmillan. 1952. pp. viii, 277. \$4.75.

This book is another in the series of "Studies in Mediaeval History" edited by Geoffrey Barraclough. As such, it will be welcome to all students of medieval history. It is a pleasure to be able to say that it is a worthy addition to the series.

It is rather surprising that administrative history has been comparatively neglected until very recent times; for, as Mr. Chrimes points out, the political, legal and constitutional aspects "cannot be understood without consideration of the nature of the executive itself, its organization and methods". For this reason students of medieval history are greatly indebted to Mr. Chrimes. As he correctly notes, "no broad survey of Administrative History has hitherto been attempted". It is to his credit—and to the student's advantage—that an excellent manual is now available.

Mr. Chrimes too modestly plays down his own contribution. This is no attempt to displace Tout's "Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England". What Chrimes gives us is the fruit of his careful study of Tout and of all the significant writers since Tout; it is such a synthesis as only a fine scholar could make. What emerges from this work is a remarkably clear picture of the workings of government in its ordinary daily routine. There is a short chapter on the rather elementary working of Anglo-Saxon government, before the author gets into the Norman system. As he proceeds through the middle ages, one sees the rise and decline of the different offices in the strength and weaknesses of their occupants. Justiciar yields to chancellor; the great man yields to the council. The history closes with the deposition of Richard II and the growth of the administrative council. There is an epilogue carrying the story to Thomas Cromwell.

Any work that is first in its field—and this is a wide field—will inevitably provoke criticism. Mr. Chrimes is aware of this: “a generalized survey of this kind is bound to be in many respects tentative, and indeed is always over-simplified”. It is our good fortune that he has not allowed any fears to deter him. In gratitude for this book, the reviewer is willing to overlook any shortcomings; he has, in fact, found none of any import. He prefers to remember an indispensable manual containing a synthesis of the best works on medieval English administration, written by a sound and discriminating scholar.

J. E. Healey, Loyola College, Montreal.

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## MODERN

*The Navy as an Instrument of Policy, 1558-1727*, by the late Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond. Edited by E. A. Hughes. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1953. pp. iv, 404. \$12.00.

This book is considerably more than just another addition to the mounting list of works on British naval history. Indeed, Sir Herbert Richmond disclaimed any intention of writing a volume that was primarily concerned with minor strategy, tactics, and campaigns in detail. His interest was in “outlines of what ministers intended and how their intentions were translated in terms of action”, and he never lost sight of his objective.

A note of authority prevails throughout this volume, and well it might. The author was a former admiral in the Royal Navy, and also Professor of Imperial and Naval history at Cambridge University.

Originally, Sir Herbert aspired to write a two-volume study of the British navy as an instrument of policy. The present book covers the era from Elizabeth I down to the period when the “northern barbarians” were threatening a Russian domination of the Baltic in the first third of the Eighteenth century. Illness and then death cut short the intention of the author who expressed the hope that someone would complete the study.

Sir Herbert is adept in using his knowledge of naval history to draw parallels between widely separated periods of time. For example, he sees that a naval failure in the Elizabethan age was due to the refusal of the Queen and her ministers to focus on one major single aim and to have adequate material preparation for the same. “Errors of almost precisely the same character were made in the scheme for the attack on the Dardanelles in 1915.”

Many American historians have placed uncommon significance on the Battle of La Hogue in the War of the League of Augsburg. Sir Herbert does not completely belittle it, and admits that it relieved England from an immediate danger of invasion. However, the actual damage inflicted on the enemy was no more than the nation and its allies had suffered earlier at Beachy Head. In fact, the author observes that the results were moral rather than material.

Britain's navy was sometimes more than an instrument of war. On occasion it was a major force in the preservation of world peace. An illustration of this came in the years after the War of the Spanish Suc-

cession when the naval power of England deterred possible aggressive moves by Austria, Spain, and Russia.

This volume is written in clear, sturdy prose, and is eminently readable. A person with less literary ability than Sir Herbert could turn some of the complicated diplomatic and naval situations into a dreary piece of composition.

One criticism must be made. It is regrettable that such an otherwise attractive book should be completely without maps and charts. English readers may have familiarity with the myriad of proper place names that appear in this study, but an American will either be obliged to make repeated visits to the historical atlases or else remain in a state of uncertainty, if not of actual confusion.

Richard L. Beyer, Gannon College.

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*The World of Humanism. 1453-1517*, by Myron P. Gilmore. Vol. II of *The Rise of Modern Europe*, edited by William L. Langer. New York, 1952. Harper & Bros. pp. xv, 326. \$5.00.

This important series was inaugurated some twenty years ago by Volume I, *The Dawn of a New Era, 1250-1453*, by Edward P. Cheney. Mr. Cheney covered two centuries in the same compass Mr. Gilmore uses to treat the next sixty years. The difference in intensity of treatment is immediately noticeable. The slower tempo allows Mr. Gilmore to give fuller discussion to events and to add his historical judgments on many persons and tendencies which in briefer course would have to pass unnoticed. This adds individuality and interest to the work.

The author has chosen a topical schematization of his material, limiting himself of course to the sixty year span. He treats the continent-wide church in the immediate pre-reformation epoch, economic and social questions, dynastic politics, governmental institutions, the interests of the states, philosophy and art, science and humanism. A great deal of work has gone into the preparation of this work, and recent scholarly production in all these fields has been impartially used to bring the conclusions, as nearly as possible, up to date. The bibliography at the end of the book, though badly proof-read, is extremely useful. The author maintains a scholarly detachment on controversial issues, and it is difficult to discern his basic approach to the problems that were to bring a cataclysm in the western world in the years immediately following the terminus set to his book.

While the reader must respect the limits and thereby obviously the purposes an author sets himself, in this case it is difficult to resist the impression that it has not been possible to make a historical unit of these sixty years, and that the author had accepted a task it was impossible to accomplish. Pius II without the Conciliar Movement is completely inexplicable. Sebastian Brant is not understandable without the whole of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. To attempt to give form and comprehension to the Medici as bankers without the preceding two centuries of economic development in practice and technique is as vain as to try to make sense of the Platonic Academy without describing the furore of Chrysoloras' visit and the work of Bessarion. To be forced to isolate Louis XI from the Hundred Years' War before him and the period of Francis I after him is to forego explanation and meaning entirely. Historical processes cannot be treated



in so cavalier a fashion.

Though one must give due credit to Mr. Gilmore's courageous effort, it must be said that this book does not succeed in making a unified period out of an isolated sixty years' of European history. The editor of the whole series must be held responsible for lack of historical insight in thinking it could be done, and, perhaps more seriously, for asking a younger colleague to undertake so thankless a task.

S. Harrison Thomson, University of Colorado.

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*The Trial of Oliver Plunkett*, by Alice Curtayne. New York. Sheed and Ward. 1953. pp. 239. \$3.00.

As the author points out in her "Note to the Reader," there is a startling similarity between the trial of Archbishop Plunkett in 1681 and that of Cardinal Mindszenty in 1949. Both trials present the same sordid spectacle of trumped-up charges of conspiracy, the same distortion of evidence, the same facade of legality, and the same notable omission of the real issue, hostility to the Catholic Church.

But apart from any resemblance to painful contemporary events, this vivid account by a successful Irish hagiographer of the judicial murder of her countryman, the Blessed Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, has much merit of its own. By largely allowing the facts to speak objectively for themselves, especially in her copious citations from the official records of the trial, and from the Archbishop's considerable correspondence with his superiors in Rome, Alice Curtayne succeeds both in revealing the noble character of the martyred Primate, and in building up a powerful indictment of the failure of English justice which had allowed itself to be submerged by the hysterical backwash of the Popish Plot.

In that spring and summer of 1681 London was still seething with anti-Catholic feelings as a result of that fantastic concoction called the Popish Plot. Just three years previously the disreputable Titus Oates had charged that at the instigation of the Pope and the Jesuits, the French were to invade England, seize the government, massacre all Protestants, and as a final spine-chilling touch, Oates asserted that the General of the Jesuits himself was to nominate the men who would rule England and control her army and navy. None of these charges were documented. Yet they were received by the Privy Council itself in solemn session on September 28, 1678. Oates himself was hailed as "the Savior of the Nation." He was given a pension, a retinue of attendants and a suite of rooms in Whitehall Palace. In the meantime sixteen innocent men went to their deaths for their supposed complicity in the Plot.

Amid all this turmoil, it was hardly to be expected that Catholic Ireland would escape the consequences of the Popish Plot. In fact the charges against the Archbishop add up to his being the alleged principal agent of the Plot in Ireland. Against such a background he could hardly expect justice. He was not given time to bring his witnesses from Ireland whose testimony would serve to clear him. Likewise evidence from two Irish Viceroys to the correct behavior of the Primate towards the Crown in Ireland was not permitted in court. The witnesses against them were bribed

by promises of reward and were not required to document their charges. Their mere hearsay evidence was accepted. Sad to say, some of these witnesses against the Archbishop were disgruntled Irish priests. The base political purpose behind the whole frame-up was revealed by Plunkett himself when he made known in his speech from the scaffold that "a great peer sent me notice that he would save my life if I would accuse others." The "great peer" was Lord Shaftesbury, leader of the Opposition to Charles II, who was using the Plot as a political weapon to embarrass the King. His conviction having been a foregone conclusion, Oliver Plunkett was executed at Tyburn with full brutality on July 1, 1681.

As Miss Curtayne observes, the murder of the Archbishop forms a sort of climax to the agitation over the Popish Plot since he was the last of its victims. On the very next day, July 2, 1681, the arch-instigator Shaftesbury was himself arrested. A year later he was dead. Similar unhappy fates befell all the Archbishop's accusers. Of the priests both secular and religious who testified against their Primate, only one, a Franciscan, appears to have been given the grace of final repentance having been pardoned by Plunkett's later successor in the Irish Primacy, Dr. Hugh Macmahon.

*The Trial of Oliver Plunkett* makes vivid and interesting reading for the average or ordinary Catholic. The student will miss the apparatus of scholarship. There is neither index nor table of contents the lack of which renders the volume most inconvenient for handy reference. Furthermore the sources, though listed at the end, are not sufficiently identified in the text. Some of the most interesting excerpts from the letters, for instance, have no identification of date or of the person to whom they were addressed, but are baldly introduced by some such expression as "Elsewhere he says in another report to his superiors," as on page 105. To make these criticisms, however, is not to accuse Miss Curtayne of lacking diligence in research. The sources which she lists are select and impeccable as, for example, the Process for the Cause of Beatification from the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Writing no doubt for a popular audience, she wishes to avoid the appearance of scholarship. This same reason may account for her occasional lapses into pedestrian style by using expressions in poor taste such as "his tendency to rat," or "he made no bones about saying," which will be found on pages 29 and 30. At times also the author's use of the flashback system to identify characters concerned in the trial and to give their reasons for being there, is awkwardly handled and serves to confuse the reader as to who and which trial is being referred to. On the other hand this method may be demanded by her limited purpose of confining herself to the actual trial.

But on the whole it may be said that in providing the public with so reliable and readable a narrative of a good man's greatest moments, Miss Curtayne has performed a distinct service to her country and her church.

Rev. Jeremiah C. Lehane, C.M., Saint Mary's Seminary.

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*2,000 Years: A History of Anti-Semitism.* By Emil J. Long. New York. Exposition Press. 1953. pp. 325.

After a quick historical sketch of The Hebrews ending with Jesus (but Jesus did *not* preach that "all worldly goods should be held in common"

p. 26) and of the Star Under the Fasces, the Jew was "met with suspicion, hostility and restriction, giving rise eventually to the ghetto and the resultant social ostracism" (p. 44). The Jews must wear badges and are Wanderers of the Earth, and at the end of the middle ages become the Patrons of the Renaissance. Having been instrumental in backing Columbus' voyage in 1492, the commercial revolution and liquid capital bring them The Age of Emancipation, though not all the money barons were Jews like the Rothschilds by any means. An analysis of the causes of The Poison of Anti-Semitism brings us to Under the Slavic Heel: the pogroms in Russia and the cry *Byei Zhidoff*, "Kill the Jews!" Herzl leads us towards Zion, and with World War I comes the Balfour Declaration and increased Jewish-Arab tension. Early medieval friendliness between Star and Crescent is met again in modern Turkey in black contrast with The Liar of the Swastika's *Mein Kampf* which "inspired the slaughter of six million jews" (p. 191). That was The Great Pogrom which evoked hopeless resistance and the Jewish underground. Statistics of A People in Exile (p. 214ff.) leads to a presentation of Jewry in the Postwar World and the three-fold demand of the Jewish people (p. 242). When we come to The Crossroads of Decision, we see that a Jewish state is not the whole nor a sufficient solution, and that "the Jews themselves persisted in putting obstacles in the way" (p. 263). Now is A Time of Decision, and a time to admit that no blood is pure and that the Jew has often been made a scapegoat. The Barred Gate is the immigration laws against the DP's, but so is the "official" Jew's non-representative domination of his race. In the Epilogue the ten million who survive stand and watch "the slow death march, the procession of the Six Million," and try to discern from the history of 2000 years and the facts of the present the Shadow of the Future.

The book is a plea for homelands for the Jewish people and for fair treatment of them. The appeal is made through the brotherhood of man preached by the Jew Jesus, but Jesus Christ is not made much of in the book and His followers are made the *bête noir* to the Jew. Neither does the author sufficiently emphasize the fact that the Jews, by their tribal way of life—social, economic, ceremonial, dietary, and by their internal religious schism into orthodox, modernist, and agnostic have brought upon themselves much of the grief that has come to them.

There are no footnotes, bibliography, or index.

Clarence A. Herbst, Saint Louis University.

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*Cardinal Gasquet: A Memoir*, by Shane Leslie. New York. Kenedy. 1953. pp. 273. \$3.50.

Somewhat hard to classify, this book is styled a memoir on the title page, a biography in the foreword and elsewhere, but makes no pretense of offering the whole life-story of its subject. Aidan Gasquet was an English Benedictine (1846-1929), justly famous as an author after 1888, and constantly engaged in literary-ecclesiastical business. He was called to Rome and asked to supervise the gigantic task of getting out a critical edition of the Vulgate, a work which is still in progress. He was created a cardinal in 1914, and was named to various posts at the Curia. Dying in 1929, he is buried at Downside.



A few of the chapters are extended sketches or essays; others are mere excerpts from his letters, diaries, documents, notes, curiosities and souvenirs, strangely mixed.

Gasquet became a Benedictine at the age of twenty, was ordained eight years later, and began his career teaching at Downside. Elected prior after four years, he plunged headlong into the manifold activities of building a large monastery and school. After eight years of overwork his health broke; he resigned his charge, a broken man at 39.

To keep out of the infirmary, and before going back to the monastery, he was given leave to live in London and study at the British Museum. Here he fell into the company—and thirty-year friendship—of bookworm Edmund Bishop, whose influence was such as to change Gasquet's whole subsequent life.

Bishop could so guide Gasquet through the mazes of medieval documentation at the Museum and Public Record Office, and show him what to read and how to appraise, that, beginning with his first volumes two years later, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, Gasquet took rank at once as a leading Catholic apologist. In his own autobiographical sketch he says simply: "I had the advantage of the help and advice of Edmund Bishop" (33).

Hence, for readers of *The Historical Bulletin*, the chapter, "Gasquet as a Historian," claims first interest: here Leslie accepts the verdict of the modern professional historian, Adrian Morey, (October 1929): 'No doubt he was, like many historians, a careless copyist and correcter of proofs, and did not always trouble to distinguish sufficiently between quotations in full and his own abridgements.' There indeed is the rub that frayed so many of his critics" (p. 8). But that limitation duly entered, Leslie devotes many of his best pages to those fruitful years at the British Museum. The Cardinal's essential contribution, everywhere accepted, was to restore the looted monasteries to *honored memory* among Englishmen. But in trying to prove a Catholic Bible in English before Wycliffe "his guess was a mistake" (122).

To the Church at large Gasquet's finest service was ferreting out the sixteenth-century papal documents on which Leo XIII based his famous decision as to the invalidity of Anglican Orders (1896).

The day before the conclave, at which Cardinal Ratti became Pius XI, Gasquet said to some friends in Ratti's presence: "You see there a very wicked man! We are going to lock him up for life in the Vatican!" (17). Gasquet died while Pius was still serving the sentence.

Gerald Ellard, Saint Mary's College, Kansas.

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*An Outline of French History*, by René Sédillot. Translated from the French by Gerard Hopkins. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1953. pp. ix, 372. \$5.00.

This sketch of French history in less than four hundred pages covers the subject from pre-historic times to the establishment of the Fourth Republic. In a highly impressionistic style the author discusses not only the shifting political scene but also economic and social conditions, intellectual achievements, and religious institutions. The volume is packed with an unusual and curious assortment of facts. Five of the seven chapters of this work are devoted to the period before 1789. The last chapter entitled "Sunset"

covers the period after 1815. Despite the title the author definitely concludes on an optimistic note, for he observes that it may well be "that France will again surprise the world, not by the violence of her death-throes, but by the glory of her resurrection."

Four maps and six pages of comparative dates serve to clarify the text. A brief but serviceable index is also included. The author's purpose has been to provide the necessary framework for an overall view of French history so that the reader may not only follow the facts but also understand both the causes and consequences of those facts and thereby see "how and why France came into being, and how and why she grew and lived, prospered and suffered." In the reviewer's opinion the author has well achieved these aims.

Bernerd C. Weber, University of Alabama.

*Ben Jonson of Westminster*, by Marchette Chute. New York. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1953. pp. 380. \$5.00.

This is Marchette Chute's third biography of an outstanding figure of English literature. In *Geoffrey Chaucer of England* she devoted much of her talent to criticism and explication of her author's writings; in *William Shakespeare of London* she was less the critic; and in the present volume she has become almost entirely the biographer and historian. In one way *Ben Jonson* itself illustrates her changing method in the three volumes. Just as in the first study she was primarily interested in the writings of the poet, so in *Ben Jonson* when she deals with the early works, *Every Man in his Humour* and *Volpone*, for example, she is first the literary critic, skillfully and artistically weaving the historical background into her work. By the final quarter of the book, however, she barely retains the role of critic and writes almost exclusively of events and people, such people as the "Sons of Ben", Lucius Carey, Sir Kenelm Digby, James Herrick, the greatest of Jonson's "Sons", and of others. Jonson, the poet-teacher and playwright always aware of the poet's mission, emerges against the background of his age, the background of the court of James I with its abuses, the more austere court of Charles I, and behind all the rising tide of Puritanism. It is as a work of historical biography, then, that Miss Chute's latest volume must be judged.

Judging the book on this basis, we must conclude that Miss Chute might have read more widely than she apparently has. On occasion she does not have her facts correct, or at best assumes certain doubtful matters to be facts. Throughout she contrasts Jonson, who adhered strictly to the classical unities, with other dramatists, who "learned the tight rules of dramatic construction from Terence . . . [but] went forth and produced the tangled, loose, barbaric magnificence of the Elizabethan drama." (p. 27). Here she seems unaware of the dominant influence of Terentian structure, as interpreted by Donatus, Willichius, and other commentators, upon the structure of all Elizabethan drama. William Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists followed structural rules, even if they were not the unities followed by Ben Jonson.

Again, Miss Chute is certain of the exact design of the Elizabethan stage. In one instance at least she even uses this certitude as to the design

of the Globe stage to conclude that Jonson "always seemed to work mentally for an indoor stage . . ." (p. 184). The controversies of the past few years should have told her that, in spite of J. C. Adams, we still do not know the exact structure of the Elizabethan stage or even if it actually had more than one level.

Regarding the King's Men (to choose an arbitrary title for that organization of actors) she fails to list in her bibliography Professor T. W. Baldwin's standard work on *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company*, nor does her book indicate awareness of the facts it contains. It could have saved her from some of the slips she makes regarding that company and the production of Jonson's plays.

The great virtue of *Ben Jonson of Westminster* stems from Miss Chute's special ability to make a character and an age come alive. Jonson lives from the first time we meet him walking through the grounds of the royal palace of whitehall on his way to Westminster School to study under that wise and good man, William Camden. We see Jonson dropping the *h* from the common spelling of his name so as to set himself apart; we see him blustering through London, in an age full of touchy writers, getting into more literary feuds than any of his contemporaries; and, in spite of his tactlessness, which at times became outright boorishness, we can finally understand why he managed to keep so many friends to the end of his life. Miss Chute has caught the undying vigor which was the very spirit and chief attribute of everything Jonson did.

William C. McAvoy, Saint Louis University.

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*The Early Victorian Woman*, by Janet Dunbar. British Book Center. 1953. pp. 192. \$3.00.

Janet Dunbar has presented a satisfactory, unadorned account of the life of the English woman during Victoria's early years. Even though documentation is limited, the book possesses a feeling of sure-footed competence.

Miss Dunbar avoids the mistake of so many writers on the subject, namely of leaping into other historical sectors with which they have limited acquaintance. She anticipates the year 1837 only in discussing the writing of Mary Woolstonecraft, which, published before this date, had influence during the period. The only time she goes beyond 1857 is in conjunction with those women of the period whose careers did not flower fully until after that date.

Catholics will welcome her warm tribute to their great co-religionist, Caroline Chisholm.

When the picture of early Victorian woman is contrasted with that of the 16th Century woman, as presented by Carroll Camden in *The Elizabethan Woman*, one can see the great retrogression in the public status of English women. Sir Thomas More's daughter, Margaret Roper, had an education and a status in Tudor England for which Emily Bronte pleaded in early Victorian. (The Puritan revolution, the Coke-Blackstone interpretation of the Common Law, and the Industrial Revolution, all had their share in this decline).

In regard to conditions of English factory women in the period, no new evidence is adduced. None was needed. Miss Dunbar let the already sufficiently damaging evidence shout for itself.



Her work is a solid contribution to a growing list of books which avoid the partisanship of past writings.

William B. Faherty, Regis College.

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### AMERICAN

*Politics and the Constitution in the History of the United States*, by William W. Crosskey. 1953. University of Chicago Press. 2 vols. \$20.00.

The substance of the author's thesis is that the Constitution was intended to effect a supremacy of the Federal legislature in the government, especially as to the national regulatory powers over commerce; and that the two chief obstacles have been the "unwarranted" doctrines of States' Rights and judicial review. His dedication of the two volumes to the Congress of the U. S., that it "may be led to claim and exercise for the common good of the country the powers justly belonging to it under the Constitution", probably colored the scholarly character of his historical research and analysis. He pays little attention to the fact that the authors of the Constitution were as much concerned over the excesses of the State legislatures during the "critical period of American history" as they were over the previous behavior of royally appointed governors and judges, and that they purposely set up a system of "checks and balances" so as to achieve our present theoretical "separation of the powers" of government.

The author's method has been to interpret the words and phrases of the Constitution "in the senses they had when the document was drawn", to interpret the document "as a rational whole", and thereby to show that its "scheme is simple and flexible" to establish "a general national power subject to only a few limitations". This would do away with the present "evils of complexity, expensiveness, and inefficiency in our government"; judicial litigation would be reduced, and the Supreme Court could function as was originally intended, "as the nation's judicial head" without exercising its legislative veto power. He quotes Justice Holmes on the fly leaf: "We ask, not what this man meant, but what these words would mean in the mouth of a normal speaker of English, using them in the circumstances in which they were used." Ironically, Holmes would not have been in agreement with many of Crosskey's views, and even this quote in its context—the Pollock correspondence—does not square with Crosskey's strict method.

Crosskey's first volume is concerned largely with the commerce power, which he thinks was intended to be plenary as regards the Congress. His second volume attacks the "unwarranted" assumption and restriction of these congressional powers by the Supreme Court: through its "review" of legislation, its extension of "due process" to substantive matters, and its elimination of the common law from the body of Federal law and jurisdiction. The text is documented by over one hundred pages of footnotes, inconveniently congregated at the end of the second of two heavy volumes. The inadequate index needs to be revamped in later editions; for one looks there in vain for proper names or for topics pertinent to problems one might like to examine for comparisons.

The critical reader has a right to ask just what the motivation of the author may have been in proposing such a revolutionary text. There is a

pervasive back-to-the-Constitution attitude, which does not anticipate its many implications. He promises further studies in the pre-Constitution backgrounds; which B. C. Rodick has well done in his *American Constitutional Custom* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953). In his defense of national power against States' Rights, is he yearning for a "simplicity" which may not be attained by any modern government? Does he think that "a law on the subject" will solve all our ills? He is willing to admit that manufacturing and mining have a local status; but will others, seizing upon his thesis of national legislative supremacy, rest content with local regulation? The author seems to be imbued with a humanitarian fervor toward labor, but he allows this to cloud his analysis of court decisions which attempted to cope with the difficult jurisdictional problems presented by "interstate commerce".

Crosskey's animus toward the Supreme Court is made obvious by his choice of words. The doctrine of *Barron v Baltimore* is "iniquitous", and the Court is condemned alike for the insidiousness of its "gradualness" and the "deliberate and calculated nullifications" of legislation by its "catastrophic" decisions. The view that there is no Federal common law is "unfounded" but traceable to Jefferson's "false sophistry". The Constitution so interpreted is "crazily inadequate" to good government, the judiciary having "deliberately calculated to establish chaos and uncertainty" while the "fantastically incorrect theories" of the Court have "paralysed" legislation. Crosskey even applies to the Court the condemnation of the Book of Common Prayer and finds "no health in them". The whole "false trend" of the Court he attributes to the "miseducation of Americans, especially lawyers"; such "poverty of scholarship in the field" as there has been, "far from affording assistance, indeed, actually helped to mislead the Court". "The ideas and sophistries of the 'living-document' school have not provided a pragmatically satisfactory solution, and they are not intellectually respectable". As a consequence, "the Court's theories lack the historical character which the learned world has indolently conceded to them".

Apparently, everybody seems to be out of step "except my son John"; and this impression is aggravated by Crosskey's use of the adjective "true" to indicate his own views. These volumes may or may not be a "bombshell to traditional historians", according to their agreement with the author's preferred interpretation. But "revisionist" schools are not unknown to historians, and they may survive or absorb this one, just as they did Beard's economic interpretations. But Crosskey has not objectively anticipated many of the implications of his proposal which may present more problems than does the present constitutional situation. His insistence on legislative supremacy does not take adequate account of the shortcomings of our Congress which are intrinsic as much as they are due to the encroachments of the other branches. The author has little to say about the unwillingness of Congress to enforce by appropriate legislation the suffrage provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, or of the legislative failures properly to redistrict the States to overcome the preponderance of rural voting power. Would he be willing to range himself on the side of the Malan government in South Africa, which is practically demonstrating one of his theses? Nor does the author anticipate the trend of the present Admin-

istration toward *laissez faire* and governmental decentralization, both of which are opposed to his views.

Perhaps of far more practical importance, and even theoretical, would have been a more extended and constructive discussion of the judicial recognition of the presumption of legislative validity. This is as important in our government as is the presumption of innocence in our trial courts. And there is something to be said for Justice Holmes' point that there is a pragmatic value in the trials and errors of our 48 legislatures, whereby other States and the Federal Government can have an experimental basis for determining future legislation. But the author was probably estopped from considering this constructive, if only partial or indirect, support for his thesis of legislative supremacy because of his overall objection to States' Rights and other decentralizing factors. By handling such a problem, the author might have made clear whether his major purpose was historic research, which he has done in an admirable fashion; or pragmatic criticism of constitutional development, which has not been so well done.

Carl F. Taeusch, Saint Louis University.

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*Roger Williams: His Contribution to the American Tradition*, by Perry Miller, Indianapolis. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1953. pp. 273. \$3.00.

Professor Miller's volume on Roger Williams is one of the first to be issued in a new and promising series, *Makers of American Tradition*. The specialist who prepares each volume focuses on that phase of his subject's career in which has been made his significant contribution to American thought and institutions. In technique the volumes reveal a novel and effective structural formula, an interweaving of biographical narration, source material, and interpretation. The format is as attractive as the contents are stimulating. The uses to which volumes in the series may be profitably put in college courses in history, philosophy, and literature are legion.

Roger Williams' fervent opposition to religious persecution, by church or state, is the central theme of Professor Miller's book. Nearly two-thirds of the text is composed of Williams' own words, judiciously selected from his tracts and letters to reveal exactly what positions he championed and on what grounds he defended them. This primary material is introduced by a very brief biographical summary, is interspersed with interludes setting the biographical and historical stage for each of Williams' own arguments, and is concluded with an epilogue evaluating Williams in the light of his own age and as a symbol within the American tradition.

Most recent treatments of Williams have tended to interpret him in terms of modern secular thought. Professor Miller is revisionary in criticising this approach and in insisting that Williams must be viewed from the perspective of his own intentions. He did not espouse religious freedom on utilitarian grounds, as a live-and-let-live armistice among competing sects for their mutual advantage. In theology a stubbornly orthodox Calvinist, Williams viewed deviation from his version of religious truth as sin. The inevitable punishment, however, must await the final judgment and not be administered in this life by man. Williams differed in his method of interpreting the Bible from the New England divines who forced him into the wilderness. He believed that they were presumptuous in asserting that Massachusetts, like Old Testament Israel, was a chosen people with a mission to



discipline the erring, for he insisted that with Christ's resurrection it had become impossible for any nation to possess God's peculiar blessing. Thus no mandate for persecution existed. The purveyors of false opinions, moreover, should not be suppressed by force because the Lord had directed that they be let alone, although not approved by the saintly, until the judgment. Persecution of sinners also was wrong, for the sword lifted against evil fell upon the righteous as well.

The abiding significance of Roger Williams' role in American history, Professor Miller concludes, lies in his conviction "that those who mistake their own assurances for divinely appointed missions, and so far forget the sanctity of others' persuasion as to try reducing them to conformity by physical means, commit in the face of the Divine a sin more outrageous than any of the statutory crimes."

James Harvey Young, Emory University.

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*Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, by Ella Lonn. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1951. pp. viii, 725. \$8.50.

To Civil War historians who are familiar with Miss Lonn's volume on *Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy* it is no surprise that the present work runs to 725 pages. It is also no surprise that *Foreigners* is a well-documented, thorough and indicative of an amazing research into army records and other primary material. The historian of national groups will find his material classified for him, the military historian will discover the types of service engaged in categorized, the social historian will note sections on the home front, while the general historian will probably be most interested in the final chapter, modestly entitled, "Some Conclusions."

Only two criticisms may be offered. The first of these is that the organization within chapters is somewhat on the order of a catalog, and is an unfair criticism since it would probably be impossible to arrange so much varied information in any other fashion. The second criticism is actually a question regarding the appendices. It is not clear why certain classes of information have been given and not other similar data, e.g., why include lists of German, Polish, etc., officers and not French, Irish, etc.?

The bibliography and index are outstandingly good, format and typography good. It is possible that illustrations in color of various foreign-imported uniforms would have been an expensive addition yet they would have added to the appeal of the book.

Jasper W. Cross, Saint Louis University.

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*Foreign Policy Without Fear*, by Vera Micheles Dean. McGraw-Hill. New York. 1953. pp. xii, 220. \$3.75.

In this present volume, Mrs. Dean, author and editor of numerous studies in foreign affairs, presents her blueprint for United States foreign policy. Needless to say, not every student of United States foreign policy will agree with her analysis and her suggestions. The author points to certain "realities" which she feels must be properly assessed in world affairs, and issues a challenge to reconsider certain basic assumptions, as, for instance, that relating to the use of the balance of power. Emphasis is placed on poverty and nationalism (rather than, say, communism) as the greatest obstacles to world peace.

In the concluding chapters a suggested rewriting of America's promises is offered and the ingredients of a "fearless" foreign policy are listed. Amongst the promises we are to make is that of not interfering in the internal affairs of others but rather of offering sympathetic aid in problems of economy, social reforms, and defense (though Mrs. Dean is not consistent in emphasizing this point). America's best hope to give vigor to its foreign policy is to capitalize on its most vital domestic assets, and the chief one, as the author sees it, is "faith in our own capacity to act democratically."

The call for a "foreign policy without fear," on the surface, seems to leave little room for dispute. But the author seems to have driven the conclusion a little too far. If by "fear" (of Russian communism, for instance) is meant unreasoned fright, then, indeed, it should be rejected; but if it means a salutary dread, due to a clear understanding of its (Russian communism's) implications, then "fear" can be the only safe basis for a foreign policy. Mrs. Dean fails to make this point clear.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

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*The Great Railroad Conspiracy: The Social History of a Railroad War*, by Charles Hirschfeld. East Lansing, Michigan. Michigan State College Press, 1953. pp. vi, 128. \$2.50.

This is the story of a railroad war. The combatants are a group of small farming communities in Jackson County, Michigan, and the powerful Michigan Central Railroad. The time is 1849-50 and 51. Trains have been running down and killing live stock which has wandered onto an unfenced right of way. The corporation has agreed to pay only half the value of the stock. The dissatisfied farmers retaliate with night attacks upon the railroad. Property is destroyed, trains are derailed, passing cars are stoned and shot at from ambush. When the company's main terminal in Detroit is burned to the ground, a connection between the fire and the violence in Jackson County is alleged. The leaders of the communities are accused of a grand conspiracy to destroy the railroad and brought to trial on a charge of arson. Twelve of them are convicted.

Mr. Hirschfeld has woven his narrative from the accounts of local newspapers, railroad archives, court records, and personal papers. He has done a thorough job of research and presents an entertaining and informative little book. His focus is on the individuals who participated in the fight, and three of them are figures of national importance: James F. Joy and John W. Brooks, pioneer railroad builders of the Middle West, rulers of the Michigan Central; and Senator William H. Seward of New York, fresh from his stand on the Compromise of 1850, retained as counsel for the "conspirators." The rest of the participants are lesser men: country squires, village and corporation lawyers, railroad spies, a brothel keeper in Detroit. The whole is a picture of an aroused, not-too-prosperous group of villages just back of the frontier, and a dynamic but harassed corporation fighting in the name of progress and profits. The use of quotations is judicious and illuminating.

*The Great Railroad Conspiracy* will be of particular interest to students of American social history. But there is also evidence here for the student of railroad promotion and control. The great conspiracy was an incident

of violence in a larger movement to restrain a railroad monopoly. While some were clamoring for full compensation and fencing laws, others were complaining of rate discrimination and monopolistic practices. The conspiracy trial served to dramatize the need for a redefinition of rights on either side. The result of the broader struggle was a general act of incorporation for Michigan railroads which included a number of police regulation. Henceforth, for example, railroads were compelled to fence their rights of way. Mr. Hirschfeld tells this latter story very briefly and only as an epilogue to his social history.

The primary value of the work lies in its detailed portrait of a people in arms against a radical new element in the community—a railroad. The iron horse and its corporate owner were not easily assimilated by mid-Nineteenth Century American society. If we are to understand the conflicts which resulted from their introduction we must look for other studies of this calibre.

George H. Miller, University of Michigan.

*Veterans in Politics*, by Mary R. Dearing. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1952. pp. x, 523. \$6.00.

*James Longstreet*, by Donald Bridgman Sanger and Thomas Robson Hay. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1952. pp. viii, 460. \$6.50.

Mrs. Dearing's study on the political effect of the Grand Army of the Republic in the ante-bellum era is an extension of a doctoral dissertation. As such it shares in the strengths and weaknesses of such productions. Admirably footnoted and obviously well-buttressed by much detailed research, it displays to some extent the rather patchwork-of-quotations appearance into which most dissertations seem to be forced. If this criticism be overlooked the work otherwise gives a thorough, balanced picture of the fields in which the GAR operated and an excellent study of its political tactics.

The Longstreet volume is interesting in that it is really two biographies—that of Longstreet the Confederate general and that of Longstreet the politician—by different authors. Although Colonel Sanger is declared to have spent his lifetime studying Longstreet's career, and Mr. Hay, an engineer, is an historian by avocation, their efforts failed to impress. Perhaps mistakenly, this reviewer felt each was attempting to defend his hero in war and peace and failed to be convinced by the advocates' presentations.

Jasper W. Cross, Saint Louis University.

*Epidemics in Colonial America*, by John Duffy. Louisiana State University Press. Baton Rouge. 1953. pp. xi, 274. \$4.50.

Professor Duffy herein explores a surprisingly neglected facet of North American social and economic history. To even the casual reader of American colonial history the presence and virulence of certain epidemics have been apparent. But their extent and influence have not been clear. This present volume essays to investigate these problems. The major epidemics considered are: smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, yellow fever, measles, whooping cough, mumps, malaria, dysentery, typhoid fever, typhus, venereal diseases, and respiratory ailments. The development of variolation and



vaccination (and the often violent colonial prejudices thereto), quarantine laws (regulating communications between colonies and the isolation of infected persons), and the establishment of pest houses are also discussed. Appended to the study is an annotated bibliography and satisfactory index.

It would seem that the colonies "were relatively free of all venereal disorders." Smallpox, yellow fever and diphtheria (in the later colonial period), though terrible and sudden scourges, were not nearly as costly, economically and socially, as (in the following order) malaria, dysentery and respiratory diseases (colds, influenza, pleurisy, and pneumonia). Immigrants usually suffered most, and amongst these the missionaries were especially susceptible. America's isolation from Europe and lack of concentrated urban areas had a definite part in cutting down the incidence of infection. For the Indian, however, the coming of the white man was fatal—as the immigrant's diseases, especially smallpox and influenza, were more potent and fearsome forces in the elimination of the native than were the white man's gun.

A reviewer might wonder why it is that Jonathan Edwards, a "martyr" in the cause of variolation finds no mention, and might suggest that the impression is given that Benjamin Franklin was a consistent advocate of inoculation. He was, rather, a somewhat tardy convert.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

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*The Statesmanship of the Civil War*, by Allan Nevins. New York. Macmillan. 1953. pp. 82. \$2.25.

This brief but challenging volume consists of three lectures delivered at the University of Virginia by one of the foremost Civil War scholars. Unlike many studies of similar origin, this has depth as well as drama. The author in his preface modestly states that his discourses are exploratory and tentative, and are intended to encourage thought and reflection on the problem of statesmanship in time of crisis. The author promises to deal more fully with Civil War statesmanship in two forthcoming volumes in his *Ordeal of the Union* series.

The discussion of the conditions of statesmanship is the unique contribution of this volume. In democracies ability and character—expressed by eloquence, the pen, parliamentary skill, party management, administrative experience, passion, inspiration—are important qualities of superior leadership, but above all is an instinct for the spirit and needs of a critical time. A statesman, then, must bear "a constructive relation to the emergent forces of his era; forces much more easily defined by leisurely historians a generation later than by hurried practical men caught in the maelstrom which these forces create." The author contends the statesmanship of the American Revolution was much more impressive than the statesmanship of the Civil War. The leaders of the Revolution had faith that they were remodeling the American social order as an object lesson to all the world, while the Civil War was negative and destructive, without inspiring note, except in the voice of one man of unusual vision and power—Lincoln. Davis, in making a nation, and Lincoln, in preserving a nation, needed for their situations another quality of statesmanship, not so necessary in most crises, an unlimited amount of patience. In evaluating Southern statesmanship the student must consider the extent to which the ideas, policies

and acts of the Davis administration, beyond the conduct of the war itself, contributed to the building of a nation. The fundamental test of Northern statesmanship is in the consideration of the extent to which Lincoln and his government used their ideas, policies and acts, beyond merely carrying on the war, to preserve the nation and dedicate its citizens to the problems of reconstruction.

When these criteria are applied the conclusions, although obvious to Civil War students, are refreshingly told. The only Southern leader worthy of the label of statesman is Lee, while in the North Lincoln alone completely deserves the distinction. The test, inspiringly applied to Lincoln in the concluding lecture of this volume, strengthens his commanding position among the great statesmen of all history. No one with a penetrating interest in the nation's history can afford to miss this study.

LeRoy H. Fischer, Oklahoma A. and M. College.

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*And the War Came*, by Kenneth M. Stampp. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1950. pp. viii, 331. \$4.50.

Copiously footnoted and documented yet surprisingly lucid in style, Professor Stampp's volume represents perhaps the most thorough study yet made of the period between the election of Lincoln to the Presidency and the attack on Fort Sumter.

With the details which are so well presented there can be no quarrel. However, the basic thesis that the war was inevitable because of fundamental differences between the two sections is not universally accepted. Other nations, including this one, have certainly reconciled conflicts of an economic or political nature which have seemed comparable.

A refreshing change from many earlier works is the attention paid to James Buchanan's administration and the recognition of the talents to be found within it. In contrast is the rather harsh treatment given the would-be compromisers of the winter of 1860-61.

A startling number of manuscript collections were examined as well as a representative sampling of newspaper opinion and an extensive variety of secondary material.

Jasper W. Cross, Saint Louis University.

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*George Logan of Philadelphia*, by Frederick B. Tolles. New York. Oxford University Press. 1953. pp. 362. \$5.00.

George Logan of Philadelphia (1753-1821) is remembered chiefly because of his ill-starred peace mission to Paris in 1798. As a consequence of this strange diplomatic venture and of the Federalist ire it aroused, Congress in 1799 enacted "Logan's Law" against such attempts on the part of private citizens to intervene in the conduct of foreign affairs. Although this law still stands, no one has ever been convicted under it.

But it would be altogether unfair to George Logan and this biography to focus the attention of prospective readers exclusively upon the famous law and developments connected therewith. For George Logan had a full life—a career that provides a close-up view of, if it did not greatly influence, most of the important developments from the American Revolution to the Missouri Compromise. Oriented toward public affairs by the services of his grandfather as secretary to William Penn and by the prominent position

of his father in the Quaker community, George Logan was inevitably drawn into politics despite his admission into the medical profession for which he had studied in Edinburgh, London, and Paris, and despite his intense interest in the cultivation of the ancestral Logan estate of Stenton on the outskirts of Philadelphia.

Eight times, beginning in 1785, he was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly, and in 1801 this record was crowned by the United States Senatorship—a fitting reward for his exertions in behalf of the Jeffersonian Party in Pennsylvania. In the factionalism that split the Republicans after the victory of 1800, Logan led the Quids or anti-Duane faction in his State. During his few moments of leisure at Stenton he carried on significant experiments in the care of livestock, rotation of crops, and use of fertilizers, organizing several agricultural societies.

The most important function of this biography is to present a wide cross section of American life in the early national period. George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, and other leaders of Europe and America were involved in Logan's manifold activities and relationships. Yet the author avoids the mistake of exaggerating the importance of his subject. Logan was not a star of the first magnitude, and Tolles makes no attempt to present him as such. In fact, no dominant thesis is offered; the facts—culled from the Logan Papers, the proceedings of bodies to which George Logan belonged, and Quaker sources used by the author in his previous publications—are allowed to speak for themselves. This treatment has produced an interesting narrative, a temperate view of its subject, and an enlightening contribution to American biography.

Thomas P. Conry, Xavier University.

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*British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1850*, by Rowland Tappan Berthoff. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press. 1953. pp. ix, 296. \$5.00.

This excellent and interesting book briefly tells the story of the British immigrant to America in regard to the place he came to occupy in our society. By British immigrant Berthoff means those who were born in England, Scotland, or Wales. The Irish, being a distinct group, are intentionally excluded. Theirs, after all, is a tale deserving and demanding individual attention. In his preface the author outlines the major theme of the book "Did the British immigrants in fact enjoy a place in nineteenth century America unlike that of other foreigners?" In my judgment his answer is yes. No foreigner could simply throw off the old country and naturally many an Englishman (or Scot or Welshman as the case may be) longed for the old familiar way of life. And, of course, American customs were very strange to many. But in spite of all, the British group found social and cultural adjustment an easier task than did others. Secondly, the British immigrant was very often a skilled workman ("of more than one and a quarter million British working people who disembarked in American ports between 1873 and 1918, over forty per cent declared they had been in skilled trades."). The author does a fine job of showing how the British immigrants were of vital importance in the development of the iron and steel, mining, and textile industries. These young industries were



in desperate need of skilled labor and consequently the British immigrants moved easily into the better paying jobs. Thus their economic adjustment was much less difficult than that of other groups. The conclusion, then, is that the rapid and comparatively easy social and economic assimilation to American life is the major factor which distinguishes British immigrants from others. That is a valid conclusion supported by the facts offered in the book.

Edward J. Maguire, Saint Louis University.

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*Baron Klinkowström's America, 1818-1820*, translated and edited by Franklin D. Scott. Northwestern University Press. Evanston. 1952. pp. xiv, 262. \$5.00.

This well-edited volume presents a series of letters of a Swedish naval officer on detached duty whose most immediate object was to make a technical investigation of the recently developed American steamboat. But the Baron and "Lieutenant-Colonel" on the general staff of the "army's fleet," had a much broader vision, and in his letters home he touched on many things: American customs, morals, humanitarian enterprises, commercial and industrial developments, military and naval problems, republicanism and democracy. In many instances, he compares the American approach to and solution of problems with similar instances in his homeland—and, often enough, to the American's advantage. His reports range from observations on the unseemingly haste of American courtship, through extended discussions of humane and enlightened penal reforms, to perceptive analyses of judicial processes, the growing antipathy between the slave-holding and non-slave-holding sections, the significance of vast uncultivated areas in the West as the "most powerful *palladia* of the United States Constitution," and the improbability of the development of monocratic forms of government in the United States.

Through Professor Scott we have, then, one more "mirror for Americans" in which we can see ourselves as others have seen us—this time by a shrewd and sympathetic Scandinavian.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University,

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*Origins of the New South, 1877-1913. A History of the South*, Vol. IX, by C. Vann Woodward. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1951. pp. xi, 542. \$6.50.

*The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861. A History of the South*, Vol. VI, by Avery O. Craven. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1953. pp. xi, 433. \$6.50.

*A History of the South*, by Francis Butler Simkins. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1953. pp. xiii, 655, xxiii. \$5.75.

The student interested in Southern history need never be concerned over a shortage of material on his special field, although there are many times when his curiosity may be aroused as to why the volume is always so great. In the case of the three books here reviewed this question is not raised as the quality of all is notably high.

The first two are continuations (although not in sequence) of the cooperative project of the Louisiana State University Press and the Littleton

Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas in producing a history of the South from the founding of Jamestown to the days of World War II. Professor Craven's study develops the rise of the ante-bellum South to a position of rival nationalism within the framework of the United States and the simultaneous efforts of intransigents and compromisers to destroy and to maintain that framework. As is characteristic of most recent students of the Civil War, Mr. Craven refuses to assign a single cause for the conflict and lays considerable stress on the emotionalism which had been engendered in both sections of the country. With his general feeling that Northern "right" and Southern "rights" could not be easily reconciled in the tense, overwrought atmosphere of this era this reviewer agrees, but he cannot accept the inevitability of war which seems to be implied.

Professor Woodward's volume resumes the history of the South after the tragic years of war and reconstruction dealt with in E. Merton Coulter's volumes VII and VIII of the series. This period of Southern history has generally been the most neglected one, but the current study should do much to rectify this condition. The cast of characters during this period does not contain the notable names of the earlier years of Southern history (a condition which also obtained in the North), the events discussed lack the drama of earlier situations, yet Mr. Woodward has produced a clear, readable account of how the South built a new economic, political, and social order and assumed her new role in the national picture.

In the textbook field, *The South Old and New, 1820-1947*, has been considered outstanding; Professor Simkin's *History of the South* is a reworked and amplified version of his earlier (1947) volume with the terminal dates pushed to 1607 and 1952. Written by a Southerner who confesses his love of his section yet can see the faults and errors of his beloved, this one-volume regional history should furnish an admirable text.

Jasper W. Cross, Saint Louis University.

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*The First Saratoga, Being the Saga of John Young and His Sloop-of-War*, by William Bell Clark. Louisiana State University Press. Baton Rouge. 1953. pp. xii, 199. \$3.50.

John Young was a captain in the navy of the American Revolution and commanded the sloop-of-war *Saratoga* from the time of its launching in April, 1780, until he disappeared with the ship at sea in March, 1781. It is the author's wish in this slim volume to rescue Young and the *Saratoga* from oblivion. The task is almost a hopeless one, for in spite of careful and exhaustive research very few data about the man and the ship have been turned up. There are some admiralty records, a little pertinent correspondence dealing with the Continental navy, a few genealogical records, and some scattered private papers, pieced out by a last will and testament and an inventory of household furnishings, but hardly enough for a full-blown account and not just the stuff of which to build a "saga."

Mr. Clark, nevertheless, has done well with what he has. He presents a clear picture of the difficulties which faced the commissioners on the Board of Admiralty in keeping even a tiny navy afloat and thus offers a valuable note to the history of the Revolutionary War. The chapter which deals with one spectacular cruise of the *Saratoga*, on which her audacious captain took five prizes, breathes real excitement; and the book as a whole

gives insight into the prize-taking activities of the navy, the monetary importance of the prizes, and, unfortunately for the patriot cause, the frequency of recapture by the British. This book, despite its shortcoming of insufficient data with a resulting lack of balance and occasional reliance on the imagination, contributes a good deal to our understanding of how things actually happened.

Francis Paul Prucha, Saint Louis University.

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*The Catholic Church and German Americans*, by Coleman J. Barry, O.S.B. Milwaukee. Bruce. 1953. pp. xii, 348. \$6.00.

Father Barry has written a scholarly history of German Catholic immigration and its relation to the Church in the United States. This volume fills a long-felt need of clarifying the controversial issue of Cahenslyism in American Church history. The period studied is the last half of the nineteenth century when German immigration reached its highest peak. It was a period of intense American nationalism and of fanatic anti-foreign and anti-Catholic agitations of the APA.

The chapters on immigrant history constitute a valuable survey of the work of the European St. Raphael Society and its leading zealous German representative, Peter Paul Cahensly. This society labored for the protection of European emigrants who were frequently victimized and mistreated before, during and after their voyage to the Americas and were faced with serious dangers to their faith and morals. In behalf of emigrants, and especially those from Germany, Cahensly made several trips to the United States to interest churchmen and others in the cause of the society. He influenced the establishment in New York of an American branch of the European society.

There is no doubt that the building up of extensive German settlements, and the erection of German parishes and parochial schools were an asset to the rapidly expanding Catholic Church, particularly in the Midwest. German Americans maintained a German national consciousness, demanding separate language rights, national parishes and a proportionate representation in the American hierarchy, because they considered these essential safeguards to the faith of the immigrants during their gradual period of adjustment and assimilation. To foster unity *Priester Vereine* were organized and Germans assembled in *Katholiken Tage*.

Fearful of the disruptive influence of these trends within the Church, non-German ecclesiastical leaders, both Irish and American, opposed them vigorously and insisted upon rapid assimilation of immigrants in language and customs as imperative for unity and harmony among the heterogeneous groups of Catholics in America. They denounced the German attitude as un-American. A storm of protest was raised when it became known that the Reverend Abbelen of Milwaukee had presented to the Sacred Congregation in Rome, in 1886, a Memorial on the German question which had the approval of the German archbishop of Milwaukee. Charges of German nationalism were answered with countercharges of "Americanism."

The controversy became especially bitter and acrimonious after 1890, when the Lucerne Memorial, drawn up by the European branches of the St. Raphael Society, was presented to Pope Leo XIII for his approval. The proposals in the Memorial dealt with the care and status of immigrants



over which the American hierarchy had jurisdiction, but not having been consulted, American bishops took offense. Both sides in the controversy carried their respective views to Rome through personal correspondence; in the United States they aired their internal quarrels publicly in the outspoken religious and secular press. Intemperate statements, untruthful accusations and misrepresentations on both sides added confusion and intensified misunderstanding. Cahensly, who as delegate from Germany, had presented the Memorial to Pope Leo XIII was charged with its authorship, and he and his society were accused of playing secret politics in the American Church and of meddling in its affairs.

Father Barry's painstaking and sustained research in European and American archives and his careful documentation have enabled him to disentangle facts from mistatements and exaggerations and to make a judicious evaluation of the main issues. As a result, the much maligned Cahensly emerges from the chapters completely vindicated. The author has also thrown much light on the controversies of Americanism, the school question, and religious liberalism, all of which were drawn into the Cahensly controversy. The encyclical, *Testem benevolentiae*, of Pope Leo XIII, in 1899, ended the religious controversy. Time resolved the German question when both sides were convinced that they had been in essential agreement on the necessity of assimilating the immigrant but had differed on the time required.

This work delights the historian. It is a definite contribution to American Church history. It is a must for every college library.

Sister M. Hedwigis, F.S.P.A., Viterbo College.

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*The American Road to World Peace*, by Sir Alfred Zimmern. Dutton. New York. 1953. pp. 287. \$4.00.

Sir Alfred Zimmern, eminent scholar of international affairs and dedicated laborer in the cause of peace, herein presents his mature reflections on the historical background, evolution, and problems of world peace, with special consideration given to the existing organization of the United Nations and to possible adjustments which would make it a more fit and efficient instrument.

The heart of the present volume is contained in Section X, "The American Road." Sir Alfred there professes his belief that the American road to world peace can be reached by no other means than by the United Nations charter. The first obstacle to success is a seeming "inherent contradiction between the concept of democracy and the concept of large-scale political power." The second obstacle is that of procuring the ever-widening development of a *responsible* community of free citizens the world over. Sir Alfred believes that both hazards may be overcome by proper education (a discussion of which he promises at some future date). He proposes that the United States, in its own historical evolution, can serve as a model. The need for success, he points out, is *imperative* (since a second failure following on the League of Nations would be a most serious blow to world peace) and *urgent* (since the development of destructive atomic weapons).

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

*Science and Religion in American Thought, The Impact of Naturalism*, ed. by Edward A. White. Stanford University Press. 1952. pp. viii, 177. \$2.50.

*Crowd Culture, An Examination of the American Way of Life*, by Bernard Iddings Bell. Harper & Brothers. 1952. pp. 159. \$2.00.

In an age when all the various cultures of the world are in close contact with one another, it is quite natural that there should be many attempts to analyze the separate cultures and their interrelationships. The two books under consideration in this appraisal are symptoms of the trends of our mid-twentieth century introspection.

Author White is pursuing the age old debate: Are science and religion in harmony or conflict? If in conflict, can they be reconciled? Dr. White's procedure, in attempting to resolve the knotty question which he has posed for himself, is to re-present the writings on this subject of several spokesmen on each side of the question. Accordingly, a chapter presenting the view of positive science is set up over the name of John William Draper; Andrew White and John Fiske discuss Social Darwinism; out of the past come the writings of William James under the heading, "The Rediscovery of Human Personality"; The Democratic Synthesis is attempted by David Starr Jordan, and the position of John Dewey is restated through a presentation of his work on, "Naturalism vs. Supernaturalism".

Dr. White's volume is a helpful addition on any reference shelf. Teachers of history, philosophy, and the philosophy of education will find this work a valuable source book. Since the book has all the characteristics of a hurried debate, only careful readers will be able to find some light after painstaking analysis.

Canon Bell writes in a lighter vein but his book yields more incisive insights. Always a careful observer and meditative writer, Dr. Bell approaches his subject cautiously. The result of his method is that the reader is rewarded on every page. *Crowd Culture* is a helpful tool for all those who are concerned with the actions, reactions, and interactions of our societal forces. This volume is a substantial aid to all teachers of sociology, history, education, and allied disciplines.

Trafford P. Maher, Saint Louis University.

## CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is intended to be of service to teachers and students of history by presenting a fairly complete list of historical works announced or published since the previous issue of *The Historical Bulletin*. Many of these books will be reviewed in this or a later issue. Unfortunately sometimes the price and number of pages were not obtainable.

### MEDIEVAL

- Ai-Butrijl, *De Motibus Celorum*. University of California. pp. 180. \$2.75.  
Allport, G. W., *The Nature of Prejudice*. Addison-Wesley. pp. 555. \$5.50.  
Bailey, H. W., *Indo-Scythian Studies*. Cambridge University Press pp. 144. \$6.50.  
Bell, H. I., *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Philosophical Library. pp. 117. \$4.75. The four Forward Lectures which were delivered at University of Liverpool in Dec. 1952, under the titles: "The Pagan Amalgum", "The Jews in Egypt", "The Preparation for Christianity", and "The Triumph of Christianity".  
Chadwick, N. K., *Studies in Early British History*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 281. \$6.00.  
Dawson, C. H., *Medieval Essays*. Sheed & Ward. pp. 278. \$3.50.  
*Dumbarton Oaks Papers: No. 7*. Harvard. pp. 141. \$7.50.  
Lamb, H., *Charlemagne, the Legend and the Man*. Doubleday. pp. 320. \$4.50.  
Lee, E. G., *Christianity and the New Situation*. Beacon Press. pp. 157. \$3.00.  
Lot, F., *The End of the Ancient World, and the Beginnings of the Middle Ages*. Barnes & Noble. pp. 480. \$7.50.  
Nunn, H. P. V., *Christian Inscriptions*. Philosophical Library. pp. 72. \$2.50. This tiny volume is intended as an introduction to the study of Christian epigraphy. Two initial chapters present a short history of the Christian catacombs, along with some comments on the development of Christian epigraphy, and a cursory review of some of the principal ideas and symbols found in these inscriptions. There follow selections from both Greek and Roman inscriptions, including a number of the verses of Pope Damasus—and an English translation by the editor. Unfortunately, the book is marred by several typographical errors.  
Perry, R. B., *Realms of Value*. Harvard. pp. 509. \$7.50.  
Toy, S., *The Castles of Great Britain*. British Book Centre. pp. 294. \$5.50.

### MODERN

- Bellonci, M., *Life and Times of Lucrezia Borgia*. Harcourt. pp. 343. \$5.00.  
Brittain, V. M., *Lady into Woman*. Macmillan. pp. 270. \$3.25.  
Broughton, L. N., *Robert Browning: a Bibliography*. Cornell University Press. pp. 460. \$7.75.  
Butler, K. T., *'The Gentlest Art' in Renaissance Italy*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 402. \$9.50.  
Butlin, S. J., *Foundations of the Australian Monetary System*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 743. \$9.50.  
Case, L. M., *French Opinion on War and Diplomacy During the Second Empire*. University of Pennsylvania Press. pp. 351. \$6.00.



- DeGuibert, L. P. J., S.J., *La Spiritualite de la Compagnie de Jesus*. Institutum Historicum S.J. pp. xxxix, 659.
- Eckles, R. B., *Britain, Her Peoples and the Commonwealth*. McGraw-Hill. pp. 805. \$6.50.
- Erdman, D. V., *Blake, Prophet Against Empire*. Princeton University Press. pp. xx, 503. \$7.50.
- Fairbank, J. K., *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast*. Harvard. pp. 502. \$7.50.
- Ford, F. L., *Robe & Sword*. Harvard University Press. pp. xii, 280. \$6.00.
- Friedell, E., *A Cultural History of the Modern Age*. Knopf. pp. 476. \$6.75.
- Gaynor, F., ed., *Dictionary of Mysticism*. New York Philosophical Library. pp. 210. \$5.00. According to the jacket, this "book contains definitions of over 2200 terms—hundreds of which appear now for the first time in an English language dictionary". They appear to be drawn from all doctrines that are mysterious or cryptic. Besides the oriental religions, psychical research, alchem, astrology, magic, demonology, etc., make their contributions. In the article "mysticism," it is stated that "the basic idea of all mysticism is that the essence of life and of the world is an all-embracing spiritual substance which is the true reality in the core of all beings, regardless of their outer appearances or activities." Surprisingly enough, the work has hardly anything on Christian mysticism. Perhaps it is best for expressions that belong to Buddhism and Hinduism.
- Hughes, H., *The Reformation in England*. Macmillan. pp. 319. \$7.50.
- Giordani, I., *Pius X, A Country Priest*. Bruce Publishing Co. pp. vi, 204. \$3.25.
- Goodwin, A., *The French Revolution*. Longmans. pp. 192. \$1.80.
- Ienaga, Si, *History of Japan*. P. D. & Ione Perkins. pp. 259. \$3.00.
- Larsen, El, *An American in Europe*. Philosophical Library. pp. 224. \$4.75.
- Leslie, S., *Cardinal Gasquet*. Kenedy. pp. 273. \$3.50.
- Letarouilly, P. M., *The Basilica of St. Peter*. Transatlantic Arts. pp. 118. \$6.00.
- Luther, M., *Reformation Writings of Martin Luther, v. 1*. Philosophical Library. pp. 402. \$6.00.
- Millin, S. G. L., *The People of South Africa*. Knopf. pp. 349. \$4.50.
- Moody, J. N., ed., *Church and Society*. Arts Inc. pp. 914. \$12.00.
- Mould, D. D. C. P., *Ireland of the Saints*. British Book Centere. pp. 175. \$4.50.
- Nussbaun, A., *A Concise History of the Law of Nations*. Macmillan. pp. 389. \$5.00.
- Panikkar, K. M., *Asia and Western Dominance*. John Day. pp. 530. \$7.50.
- Ranney, A., *The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government*. University of Illinois Press. pp. 187. \$3.00.
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